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Article by Mosychuk, Blowers, Penner & Weekley. Contents of Tables 2 and 3 (pages 48 and 49) were interchanged.

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The Alberta Journal of Educational Research *Vol. XXII, No. 1, March, 1976*

M. R. LUPUL
The University of Alberta

The Portrayal of Canada's 'Other'[1] Peoples in Senior High School History and Social Studies Textbooks in Alberta, 1905 to the Present

The article below analyzes the high school Canadian history and social studies textbooks and teaching materials required or recommended by Alberta's Department of Education since 1905 with the focus on the manner in which groups such as the Native peoples, the Métis (including Louis Riel), the Orientals, and the Continental immigrants (especially the southeastern Europeans), among others, have been discussed (or ignored). Two major findings are the skimpy treatment given to the impact on Canada's cultural development and its identity as a nation of the massive immigration of peoples to western Canada prior to the first world war and, in particular, the testiness with which ethnicity (and especially language) has been handled since 1970. The materials used in recent years have failed miserably to reconcile the professed commitment to cultural pluralism with the linguistic and cultural aspirations of all but the French among the non-Anglo-Celtic peoples. (Dr. Lupul is Professor of History of Canadian Education in the Department of Educational Foundations.)

In this paper Canada's largest minority peoples, the French and the Anglo-Celtics, are excluded, as are all books not authorized or recommended as references in history and the social studies at the senior high school level—Standards VI-VIII (Grades IX-XI) to 1910, Grades IX-XII from 1911 to 1935, and Grades X-XII after September 1936.[2] Although confined to the Province of Alberta, it is assumed from an examination of several texts in use in Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Ontario that the findings of this paper may be transferred to other English-speaking provinces.

Canada's 'other' peoples have more than doubled since 1901, their percentage increasing from 12.25 to 26.73. The largest gains have been in Ontario (13.38 in 1901 to 31.16 in 1971) and Manitoba (29.29 to 49.97). The change in Quebec (2.21 to 10.97) has also been significant. The Maritime

provinces have experienced the least fluctuation and Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia the most. Saskatchewan's 'other' peoples, 53.19 per cent in 1901, dropped to 41.08 (1911) and rose steadily thereafter to 53.16 (1961), dropping slightly to 51.80 (1971). Alberta's pattern is similar: 46.02 (1901), 37.01 (1911), 34.95 (1921), 48.57 (1961), 47.40 (1971); and British Columbia's varies only slightly: 37.88 (1901), 29.77 (1911), 24.00 (1921), 36.54 (1961), 37.70 (1971).[3] The discussion in Alberta will be divided into three parts: (1) the period to 1936, when history was replaced by social studies; (2) the period 1936-1960, when Quebec's 'Quiet Revolution' began in earnest; and (3) the post-1960 period.

The Period to 1936

Before 1936, three main texts were used in Alberta's high schools to teach Canadian history: *The History of the Dominion of Canada* by W.H.P. Clement, an Ontario lawyer whose volume won the "'Dominion History Competition'" in 1896[4] and was used until 1908[5]; *The Story of the Canadian People* by D. M. Duncan, M. A., assistant-superintendent of schools in Winnipeg,[6] used until 1924[7]; and the *History of Canada* by W. L. Grant, principal of Upper Canada College and former "Professor of Colonial History" at Queen's University,[8] used until 1938.[9]

Speaking generally, neither of the three histories has much to say about Canada's 'other' peoples, apart from "The Indian Tribes of Canada" (Clement, chap. II), "The Native Races" (Duncan, sec. 2), "The Aborigines" (Grant, chap. II), and the Métis and Louis Riel, who come in for considerable unflattering attention. Duncan, influenced perhaps by Buckley and Robertson's *High School History of England and Canada*[10] refers to "the mound-builders" as Canada's first peoples, antedating the Indians and Eskimos (p. 4), even though Clement had dismissed all pre-Indian history as resting on "mere tradition" (p. 9). Grant concludes that "the silent, vanished race of the Mound-Builders is a fable of the poets," the mounds having been erected by the Indians themselves (p. 9).

Of the native peoples, the "simple but picturesque" Eskimos or "Esquimaux" are clearly preferred: "Being of a very peaceful disposition, they offered no opposition to European exploration and settlement" (Clement, p. 12). According to Grant, in the eighteenth century the Moravian Brothers, "gentle Christian missionaries from Europe, settled among them, and gradually effected a most remarkable change in their lives. They cast their cruelty and love of war aside, and became the peaceful race we know today, fighting only with nature and the wild beasts, living quietly in little settlements, with names like Nain and Hebron, taken from the Bible" (pp. 20-21). Only Duncan's straightforward account ends in insult: "The Eskimos are described as dark in complexion, although one traveller says that if their faces were well washed they would be found to be white" (p. 6)!

It is the "savage" and "dusky" Indians with their "rude political system" and "rude traffic as middlemen" (pp. 10-11) who bear the burden of Clement's white, European, Christian supremacy. Thus the staple food was Indian corn eaten in different styles of which "we have many amusing accounts." "The usual form was 'sagamite,' a kind of porridge mixed with scraps of game or fish" (p. 11). "To gorge in summer and starve in winter

seems to have been their usual lot" (p. 12). Indian "character and habits," in particular their religion, are roundly scored:

> To the early Europeans the Indian was not an attractive figure. They describe him as of unclean habits and without morals. Master of woodcraft, he was seen at his best when hunting. Upon the war-path he was cruel, tomahawking, scalping and torturing with fiendish ingenuity. A stoic fortitude when himself tortured was about his only heroic quality. In his own village among his own clansmen he spent his time in gambling, story-telling, or taking part in some rude feast. In his domestic life the Indian was not without virtues, and his squaw and papooses were treated with a somewhat rough and careless kindness. To his tribe he was usually faithful, though to his foes false and crafty. Indian religion was purest superstition, peopling forest, stream and air with supernatural beings, both good and evil. Every manifestation of nature was the work of some particular deity. Of one God over all he seems to have had no idea, and his notion of heaven was of a happy hunting-ground where departed spirits would have full enjoyment of every sensual and savage desire (pp. 12-13).

Duncan, and especially Grant, give the Indians more extensive and generally more favorable treatment, though derogatory remarks surface occasionally, especially when war or religion is discussed. Thus Duncan views the Micmacs, the first converts to Christianity, favorably, but the Montagnais eke out "a wretched existence, often in a state of starvation which drove them to cannibalism" (pp. 6-7). Huron women remain "drudge(s)," "squaws," and (quoting Champlain) "mules" (p. 13). Male idleness, gambling, and feasting continue to annoy, but Huron hospitality and good humor are praised, though the jokes are "not always free from coarseness" (p. 15). In religion the Indians are "very superstitious, having strange ideas about nature": "Thus an Indian has been known to make a long speech of apology to a wounded bear; he has also been known to treat with great care the bones of a dead beaver for fear of offending the living brothers" (p. 15). "The savage," according to Grant, "is proverbially fickle; his empires are usually held together only by a despot, on whose death they break up." Still, "the political genius" of the Iroquois is admired (pp. 12-13), even though Duncan dislikes the practice of having prisoners of war adopted by relatives of slain warriors: "Even white men, French and English, in this way became members of an Indian tribe, and in the enjoyment of the freedom of forest life refused to return to civilisation, even when they had a chance to do so" (p. 10)—clearly the forerunners of the coureurs de bois, whom Duncan, as we shall see, disliked intensely. The fairest description of the Indian is by Grant:

> The Indian had a very strict code of manners. In public he was haughty and dignified . . . . To display any emotion was considered the mark of a woman. Cases are known of an Indian tortured by fire all through the night, and making no sound save to sing his death song or throw scornful taunts at his butchers. But when at home the Indian threw off his gravity. In the wigwam he was cheerful, talkative, gossipy; fond of telling stories and of making jokes; fond of games of chance and of skill (p. 17).

Duncan grants that "In his treatment of his ignorant neighbour the settler was not always just, and his injustice drew upon him the vengeful enmity of a foe that never forgot an injury" (p. 17). Jacques Cartier's seizure of several natives, including Chief Donnacona who had befriended him on his second voyage in 1536, was a case in point. From "a very hospitable reception" in 1536, Clement writes, Cartier returned to France

with Donnacona and some of his tribe whom he had "treacherously seized." By 1541, Donnacona had died and Cartier was consequently received with "some distrust" among "the now unfriendly Indians" (p. 7). Grant minimizes the deception: "By what seems to us treachery, but what to the sailors of the day was no more than the ordinary way of treating savage races, Cartier lured on board Donnacona, the two Indians whom he had taken in the previous year, and about a dozen others." The captives were "not ill-treated or sold into slavery . . . but were presented to the King at Court, kindly treated, and instructed in the Christian religion. But the red man pined for the wild life of the forest and stream; to some, the vices of the old world proved all too pleasant; six years later all were dead, save one little girl of about ten years old" (pp. 30-31).

As between the missionaries and the Indians, the former get all the best of it. The "energetic" Jesuits, "a remarkable order of priests" (Duncan, p. 46), are in a class by themselves. Entrusted with the task of converting "the savage tribes to Christianity," "with a zeal beyond all praise, these heroic priests were ever ready to face a lonely life in remote and filthy Indian villages or to meet death in shape of direst torture, all—in the words of their order—'to God's greater glory'" (Clement, p. 24). The priests are invariably "devoted" (Duncan, p. 55) and "hardy," and the natives "awestricken" before the elevation of "the Host" (*ibid.*, p. 57). But the Huron boys at the Jesuit seminary in Quebec were apparently exceptions: "One boy ran away, two ate themselves to death, and a fourth was carried off by his father" (*ibid.*, p. 68)! The Jesuits' aim, realized for a time in Paraguay, according to Grant, was to establish "a native Christianity," "in absolute seclusion from all white influence save their own," an ideal "strengthened by desire for trade—much easier with peaceful vassal states than with the independent and savage nomads . . ." (p. 50).

Upon the coureurs de bois, too, the weight of Victorian opprobrium falls heavily. Clement is least offended, terming the men "picturesque," "adventurous spirits" seeking to escape both the strict religious life of the settlements and the fur trade monopoly of the Company of One Hundred Associates. "They adapted themselves to the Indian mode of life, and soon became as skilled in wood craft as their dusky friends. Many of them married Indian maidens, and to this day their half-breed descendants are to be found in northern Ontario, Manitoba and the North-West" (p. 24). Duncan, despite an avowed preference for "private enterprise" (p. 134), greatly disliked the greatest of the free traders, the coureurs de bois.

> Such was the freedom of life in the forest, where they consorted with the savage children of nature, that the return of a party of *coureurs de bois* to Montreal was usually the occasion of unrestrained revelry. Every house, we learn, was turned into a place of drinking. The visitors, clad in costumes as scanty as those of the most uncivilised savages, decked out in ornaments French and Indian, gave themselves up to an excess of drinking and gambling. When the last of their dearly earned furs had been thrown away as the price of their entertainment, they plunged again into the woods, to take up once more the wild life which a brief season of dissipation had interrupted (pp. 135-36).

To Grant, the coureurs de bois are romantic figures and peculiarly French:

> . . . there seems to be something wild and roving in the French character, which gives them a greater sympathy with savage races. Hence there grew up a class

> of men known as *coureurs-de-bois,* who roamed by lake and stream in quest of furs, grew wild and cruel as the Indians themselves, and in many cases took to wife one or more of the soft-eyed daughters of the forest. This was not unknown among the English; but as a class the *coureurs-de-bois* were French and French only (p. 70).

The first, very brief mention of 'other' whites is by Clement. By 1767 five out of fourteen townships in what is now New Brunswick had been settled by New Englanders and among the eleven hundred people were "a number of Germans, who settled (1765) along the banks of the Petitcodiac River" (p. 103). While the point is ignored by Duncan and Grant, the latter does indicate that as early as 1751 "about 2000 stout-hearted German Protestants came out [to Nova Scotia], most of whom went seventy miles south-west to found the town of Lunenburg, where after the Seven Years War they were reinforced by other Germans brought in by British officers" (p. 235).[11] By 1871, 7.72 per cent of Canada's population was descended from 'other' white ethnic groups, mainly German and Dutch,[12] but references to it in high school histories are rare, probably because, as with the Dutch Loyalists, the first who came "had little to distinguish them from their neighbours and melted imperceptibly into the Canadian scene."[13] Only Clement specifically refers to white United Empire Loyalists of non-Anglo-Celtic background: "In these Quinte settlements there was a large admixture of the old Dutch families from the banks of the Hudson and Mohawk rivers, and not a few of the same stock settled on the Niagara frontier" (p. 125), but from names like Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Nassau, Amherstburg, Williamsburg, and Sophiasburg in Upper Canada it is clear that attention to this aspect of Loyalist settlement could have been more extensive, had the writers been less mesmerized by the Anglo-Celtic majority.

Each text deals extensively with the 1763-65 Indian "conspiracy of Pontiac" (Duncan, p. 206), or "Pontiac's war" (Grant, p. 117), the settlement in 1784 of the "Indian Loyalist" Mohawk Chief Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea), and the Shawnee Chief Tecumseh, that "staunch and able ally of the Canadians" (Duncan, pp. 220, 263) and "far-seeing statesman" (Grant, p. 144) who died "a brave and chivalrous warrior" (*ibid.*) at Moraviantown, Upper Canada, in 1813. Duncan alone saw nation-building potential in the 1812 war: "In the hour of danger Canadians of all nationalities, English, Scotch, Irish, French, and German, had united to repel a common enemy. When the war was over, a new spirit prevailed from Halifax to Michilimackinac. Upon the battle-fields of the late war the Canadian nation had its birth" (p. 278). But, inexplicably, the "brave and chivalrous" Indians are now nowhere in sight! Most, in any case, would soon be on reserves, a sign to Grant that (along with the vote "under certain restrictions") they were well-treated in Canada (pp. 231, 420). "As a result of the honesty and justice of our treatment of the Indians, we have had none of the terrible wars which have cost the United States so much blood and treasure" (p. 232).

Canada's Blacks were also well-treated. According to Clement, a bill against slavery was introduced in Lower Canada in 1793, "but for some reason failed to pass." In 1800, however, the Court of King's Bench in Montreal held slavery to be illegal, "but we hear of slaves there as well as in

the other provinces for some years after that date." Upper Canada put an end to slavery in 1793. "In all the provinces the few slaves who were brought in by Loyalists . . . were apparently content to stay and share their masters' lot. The unhallowed institution, however, never took root in our soil, and it hardly needed legislation to bring it to an end. An Imperial Act passed in 1833 abolished slavery throughout all British dominions" (p. 144). Grant was equally magnanimous. In Upper Canada's first session in 1793 a law forbade the introduction of slaves and provided for the gradual liberation of those already present. "It is not probable that we should ever have had many slaves in a country with so cold a winter, but some had been brought in by the Loyalists and this early Act shows a noble spirit of humanity" (p. 180). The rest, however, including "Separate Schools for Coloured People" in Essex and Kent counties after 1840,[14] is presumably of no consequence.

But if the Blacks received little attention, the same cannot be said of the Métis in western Canada. Clement discusses the "Nor-Westers" and the events leading up to the "lamentable collision" (p. 232) at Seven Oaks dispassionately; only when he comes to Louis Riel do his feelings begin to show, and even then the resident officials (the factors and traders) of the Hudson's Bay Company are blamed for the rebellion: "It has been freely charged that they secretly encouraged the French half-breeds in their lawless proceedings" (p. 316). While disturbed by events at Fort Garry, he criticizes Riel only after Scott is shot:

> Among the prisoners was a young man named Thomas Scott, against whom, it is said, Riel had a personal grudge. Scott was charged with striking his guard, tried by court-martial . . . and sentenced to be shot . . . . In spite of every effort . . . to shake Riel's cruel purpose, the sentence was carried out. In Canada the news of this cold-blooded murder created intense indignation . . . (pp. 319-20).

However, the second appearance of "the rebel leader, Riel" in 1885 is treated with an almost boring recitation of the salient facts (pp. 338-39).

Duncan is most annoyed with Riel, probably because of his dislike of the life-style of the coureurs-de-bois and voyageurs, the latter being men of the North-West Company who were of "a more lawless character and less under the control of their employers" than were the employees of "the English Company" (p. 251). Not surprisingly, news of the Seven Oaks incident was "the signal for fresh rejoicing" (p. 323) at Fort William, the main trading centre of "the Canadian Company" (p. 251):

> The yard before the main building presented a wild scene. Here men of every nationality, of every creed, met. Traders and soldiers, mingling with half-breeds and Indians, were encamped in the open. Dancing, drinking, and singing they made day and night hideous with their revelry (pp. 323-24).

Upon this scene of carousing, "the indignant nobleman," Lord Selkirk, descends like an avenging angel, bringing with him retribution and peace (p. 324)—a peace occasionally challenged but seriously disturbed only by Louis Riel.

> Riel was the son of a white father and a half-breed mother, and had been educated in Montreal for the priesthood. Fluency of speech and magnetism of manner gave him ready control over his compatriots; unchecked ambition and extraordinary vanity blinded him to the folly of resisting the authority of the Dominion. There was no one in the colony to restrain his madness.

> [After McDougall's retreat] . . . there was every prospect of a bloodless settlement of the difficulty, when a sudden fit of madness on Riel's part precipitated a tragedy. Among some prisoners whom the latter had thrust into Fort Garry, as enemies of the "Provisional Government," was a young Ontario immigrant named Thomas Scott. This unfortunate youth, Riel picked out to be his instrument in terrorising his opponents. Court-martialled and condemned upon the charge of treason, Scott was led out before the walls of Fort Garry and shot. The news of this brutal murder raised a storm of indignation in eastern Canada. . . . At the approach of the troops all military ardour and pride of office died down within Riel's breast. He promptly fled from the scene of his transient glory to find a refuge in the United States (pp. 350-51).

Settlement soon increased: "Many farmers from eastern Canada moved west, while from Europe came an ever increasing number of colonists, of British, Scandinavian, and German stock" (p. 367). As "the hated civilisation" crept up on the "*Métis* or half-breeds" and their "near relatives, the Cree Indians" (p. 368), Riel, "forgetful of his overthrow at Fort Garry fifteen years before [and therefore presumably as mad as ever!], again raised the standard of revolt" (p. 370). Overwhelmed and captured, he was tried at Regina by an all-Protestant, Anglo-Celtic jury (not mentioned) and "though ably defended" was found guilty of "treason" and hanged (p. 375).

Grant, with no grudge against the North-West Company, views the "degradation of the Indians" dispassionately, even whimsically, as his quoted excerpt from the diary of a Company agent, Alexander Henry, shows:

> April 30, 1804. Indians having asked me for liquor, and having promised to decamp and hunt well all summer, I gave them some. Grande Gueule stabbed Capot Rouge, Le Boeuf stabbed his young wife in the arm. Little Shell almost beat his mother's brains out with a club, and there was terrible fighting among them. I sowed garden seeds (p. 253).

Grant also does not play up the Semple and Selkirk incidents, but notes significantly the Swiss among Selkirk's "old soldiers" as well as their settlement in, if not their departure from, St. Boniface (pp. 255-56). Grant blames both sides for the uprising in 1869-70, but the federal government, for the first time, gets the worst of it. The "half-breeds" were "freedom-loving and lawless." But "still more stupid" than the "stupid and niggardly" contractor sent out to build a road from Fort William to Fort Garry were the instructions given to the surveyors. Although running their lines across established boundaries "may seem a small thing to us, to the half-breeds it was manifest witchery and black magic, that men with instruments of brass in their hands should go about making mysterious drawings and writing mysterious words on paper" (pp. 258-59). Dismayed, the Métis "found a leader in one of themselves, Louis Riel, who had been partly trained for the priesthood, and was thus a man of some education. Though sometimes rash, vain, and cruel, Riel was also a man of deep religious feeling, who in imagination saw himself at the head of a great French Catholic state on the banks of the Red River" (p. 259). While also condemning Riel for having Scott shot, Grant's tone is more moderate:

> So far, Riel had done little more than fight for his rights, but in March 1870, he put himself for ever in the wrong by the execution on a charge of treason of Thomas Scott, an Ontario Orangeman. Scott seems to have had a great contempt for all French Catholics and for Riel in particular, and had undoubtedly

> made himself disagreeable, but for the charge of treason there was no evidence whatever, and the so-called execution was a barbarous murder. Ontario was at once in a flame, and its Government offered a reward for the capture of Riel. [Upon Wolseley's arrival] . . . Riel and his men decamped without striking a blow (pp. 260-61).

Both the causes for the return of "this stormy petrel" are carefully detailed and a favorable account of Riel's activities after 1870 is given before he is finally dispatched at Regina. "He was no coward, and met his fate without a tremor." While he "deserved" his fate, ". . . we must not forget that it was the deafness of the Government to the claims of the half-breeds, and not any real disloyalty to Canada on their part, which brought on all the bloodshed and expense" (p. 283).

But while Grant gives the Métis much space, the same cannot be said of the Orientals. The role of the Chinese "navvies" in building the wagon road to Barkerville is mentioned (p. 264), but their monumental, back-breaking labor in building the Canadian Pacific Railway is not. The question of Oriental immigration to British Columbia is touched on in the chapter on "The Provinces, 1867-1914." British Columbia's "chief" problem, we are told, has been an inadequate supply of labor. "For a time it was hoped to solve this by allowing Oriental immigration under restrictions, but the desire to keep the province the home of a white race has been too strong to allow of this solution." As a result, labor quarrels in the past have been incessant: "quarrels between rival firms of canners, and between Canadian masters and Indian and Japanese workmen . . . ," quarrels which "are now at an end" (p. 308). The solution entailed a head tax of $50, then $500, on Chinese immigrants "whose life was so frugal and thrifty that they could live on wages on which a white man would starve." And when British Columbia "became equally afraid of the Japanese" after the 1907 "anti-Japanese" riots in Vancouver, the Japanese government gave "a written promise . . . that they would try to turn their emigration away from Canada" (p. 324).

Grant is the first to treat extensively the settlement of the west prior to 1914. The whole is done in the context of Canadianization with the emphasis on education and, as was then customary, on the special importance of learning English:

> This problem of education was especially pressing because an increasing proportion of the later immigrants were of foreign stock and spoke foreign languages. The pioneers of the west had come from eastern Canada, Great Britain and the United States; they were resolved that the great Anglo-Keltic tradition of combined order and freedom should not be lost, and they knew that one of the great means of Canadianizing the immigrant and of instilling into him these traditions was to teach him the English language. Fortunately most of the immigrants were equally keen to learn it, knowing that without it they would be mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. Yet many of them, and especially of their leaders, loved their mother tongues and desired to retain them, and the problem was complicated by the presence of a number of French who felt that the history of their ancestors in Canada put their language in a very different position from those of the other non-English-speaking peoples. . . .
>
> To get sufficient teachers was a great problem and at first the majority of the teachers in these western schools [established "on the model of Ontario but with certain features taken from the western American states" (p. 334] came from the east . . . . Often the teacher was the only English-speaking person in the little village of Bulgars, or Ruthenians, or Scandinavians . . . (pp. 335-36).

Thus was the news broken (for about a dozen years) to Alberta's high school students that at least in western Canada there were large numbers of white people who were neither Anglo-Celtic nor French. From Grant, too, the same students would have learned that the War Time Elections Act was passed in 1917 under which "all of alien enemy birth who had become naturalized since March, 1902, and who had not enlisted, were debarred from voting. This last proviso disfranchised many who had already voted in one or more Canadian elections, and was bitterly opposed by the Liberals as contrary to British justice and liberty" (p. 391). Although Grant himself does not say whether this was one of the "blots" in Canada's "story," merely to admit that blots did exist, "to which no true patriot will try to close his eyes" (p. 400), was much more than either Clement or Duncan was prepared to do.

The Period from 1936 to 1960

In 1936 Grades VII, VIII, and IX became the intermediate or junior high school in Alberta and between 1937 and 1939 History 1, 2, 3, and 4 were replaced by Social Studies 1, 2, and 3 in the senior high school. The advent of the social studies, a mixture of the social sciences, history, and current events, marked the end of the much-maligned era of the single text, now finally and somewhat ignominiously replaced by 'multiple resource materials.' The advent of the social studies also saw the demise of Canadian high school history taught in a chronological manner. Relegated primarily to the last high school year, Canadian history took second place to (1) developing "a permanent interest in a number of the most important contemporary problems—national, imperial and international, so that the student upon graduation will voluntarily keep in touch with the future developments of these problems" and (2) "creating a due appreciation of the duties and responsibilities of citizenship in a democratic state."[15] National or "Canadian Problems" were divided into "external" and "internal affairs" but Canada's human resources were not included under the latter. Social Studies 3 was, in fact, primarily a course on international developments since 1914, and with the emphasis in the two preceding years also on European history, Canadian history was relegated largely to the first year of junior high school.

The focus on international affairs in Grade XII and on current events in each high school grade was undoubtedly a result of the disbelief with which helpless educational leaders watched the world drift towards another war in the midst of depression, the rise of fascism, and the impotence of the League of Nations. The war itself made the textual transition to social studies more difficult and books written before the war had to serve for 'the duration.' The three most important in the social studies were *Canada Today*[16] by Frank R. Scott of McGill University, one of Canada's foremost constitutional authorities; *Problems in Canadian Unity*[17] edited by Violet Anderson; and *Canada*[18] by André Siegfried. Scott's book, a primary reference ("a list of books that should be available in every classroom library"[19]), was concerned "to show the relation between internal forces and external policy"[20] in Canada. Anderson's book was a secondary reference ("important books which should be added to the classroom library as circumstances permit") and Siegfried's was listed under "Interesting Reading For Students."[21]

All in all, 'other' peoples are given very little attention in the three books, despite some interesting passages. Scott recognizes that the Prairie population is "the most mixed of any in the Dominion, having been augmented for the greater part by immigration during the early years of the present century; only about 49 per cent are British by racial origin" (p. 4). In British Columbia, "The racial composition of the population is mostly British, but there are important Oriental minorities which are denied the franchise and constitute unassimilated groups" (p. 5). "Royal commissions must be appointed, the civil services staffed, and political patronage expended, in accordance with sectional and racial divisions. The twenty per cent of the population which is neither British nor French, however, has little representation in the Dominion or provincial legislatures or administrative services" (p. 10). "The waves of immigration have ceased, and the children of immigrants have not the European memories of their parents" (p. 12). The 6,000 Eskimos and 123,000 "Red Indians surviving" are wards of the Dominion without citizens' rights, except for Indian veterans of the first world war. "Other disfranchised minorities . . . are Doukhobors, Chinese, Japanese, and Hindus" (p. 13n). With the opening of the west, Canada, "like the United States, became a melting-pot into which were poured many kinds of human material" (p. 14), but though "the British element has steadily declined,"

> . . . persons of British descent usually occupy the most influential positions in politics, religion and education, outside Quebec, and in finance and industry throughout the country. Their power to control the destinies of Canada is therefore very much greater than their numbers would indicate; also their cultural influence on immigrants of other racial stocks is disproportionately strong (pp. 14-15).

"Chinese immigration was ended by the Dominion Chinese Immigration Act of 1923; between 1925 and 1937 only 8 Chinese were admitted. Japanese immigration is governed by the 'gentleman's agreement' of 1907, as revised in 1928, under which the number of Japanese entering the country does not exceed 150 a year. The total number admitted between 1929 and 1937 was 976" (p. 20n). Scott admits that assimilation in Canada "has not meant cultural or linguistic uniformity, and permits of wide variations of behaviour and belief"—and for the first time is clearly disturbed:

> The assimilation of immigrants, in the form of intermarriage and a mixing of stocks, is slow. The "melting-pot" is not producing a uniform racial alloy. The British races—English, Scotch, Irish and Welsh—intermingle freely, with each other and with the German, Dutch and Scandinavian settlers, but not with immigrants less racially akin. Racial diversity is especially noticeable when a foreign group settles in a community, forms a "colony," and preserves its own language and customs, as do the Ukrainians, the Doukhobors, the Orientals, and some other peoples. Moreover, there is no national education system to unify the children's outlook rapidly.

Separate schools and high rates of non-attendance at or early dropout from school, coupled with regional newspapers and few national popular periodicals, tend "to keep public opinion sectional, though the federal control of radio broadcasting is assisting in the development of a more national outlook" (pp. 24-25). By 1971, however, not only are the French Canadians "likely to outnumber" the British, but "many of the non-British, non-French races in the country will by then be assimilated to those of

British descent in attitudes and outlook, thus increasing the homogeneity of the non-French group" (p. 26).

In subsequent chapters we learn that the influence of the Communist party, "particularly amongst certain foreign born groups in Canada, has been considerable" (p. 70); that "A very large proportion of the 2,000,000 Canadians who are neither French nor British do not understand an allegiance divided between Canada and the Commonwealth" (p. 89); that the cultural and sentimental ties that join Canada to the Commonwealth are "less evident in the Prairie Provinces where the non-British immigrants are mostly settled" (p. 105); that when Canadians talk about "'foreigners'" in the population, "they are not thinking of American settlers" (p. 110); and that the 50 per cent of the population of non-British origin "can scarcely feel a sentimental obligation to take part in every British war" (p. 136), for "most . . . have no sentimental or racial attachment to Great Britain" (pp. 145-46). There is no need for concern, however, for "the total French-Canadian and foreign group which is most isolationist holds only six out of sixteen" Cabinet seats and the foreign group "has only one representative, the Honourable W. D. Euler" (p. 147 and n.).

In *Problems in Canadian Unity,* even when the discussion encompasses subjects other than labor, unionization, and agriculture, there is no recognition on the part of historians like Arthur R. M. Lower and Frank H. Underhill, or a lawyer like Roger Ouimet of Montreal, or a *Winnipeg Free Press* editorial writer like J. B. McGeachy that there are other peoples in Canada besides the French and "English." Such is not the case with Siegfried, who devotes one of four parts to "Demography." The "cosmopolitan" (p. 56) or "exotic" peoples ("Slavs and Mediterraneans," p. 102) are recognized, on the one hand, as posing difficult problems of assimilation and, on the other, as making Canada less British or French and more North American. Even so, with English "eventually imposed as the prevailing tongue" (p. 108), the "Anglo-Saxon" benefits to the disadvantage of the French. Siegfried understands well the crucial role which language plays in assimilation:

> . . . the English language is a factor of Canadian political unity, not only with regard to the French who are obliged to learn it, but also with regard to the cosmopolitan immigrants who cannot be assimilated until they have adopted it. When English Canadians protest against the tolerance shown towards the languages of the minorities, they show that they realize what is required to consolidate the Canadian personality under the British aegis. Their indignation at the idea that another language besides English should be spoken in Canada arises assuredly from the well-known Anglo-Saxon laziness when it comes to learning foreign languages. Actually 96 per cent of the Canadians of British origin speak only English! (pp. 93-94).

With such sentiments, perhaps it is not surprising that Siegfried's book did not reappear on any high school reading list in subsequent years while Anderson and Scott were continually recommended (if available) until 1953-54,[22] Anderson at the Grade XII level and Scott as a primary reference also in Grade XI in 1944-45[23] and in Grade X in 1945-46.[24]

With the war's end, three major additions were made in the list of social studies readings. In Social Studies 3 *Contemporary Problems*[25] by L. A. Bagnall and K. Norton, both high school teachers in Calgary, became the

primary reference. Far more important for our purposes, *Building the Canadian Nation,*[26] a history by Professor George Brown of the University of Toronto, was suggested as a general reference in Social Studies 2 in 1944-45[27] and in Social Studies 1 in 1945-46,[28] and as a primary reference in Social Studies 1, 2, and 3 in 1946-47.[29] Brown holds Alberta's record as the most recommended history text, being mentioned as late as September 1967.[30] The third addition was *Social Living,* an American text by P. H. Landis and J. T. Landis, which passed through three editions,[31] surpassing even Brown for longevity. *Contemporary Problems,* despite its title, is of little significance; the space devoted to Canada is slight. Under "Canadian Political Problems," students learned that among the "Factors Promoting Canadian Unity" are "A common background for many of our people" and "The English language which is understood by most Canadians and is the common medium of expression" (p. 174). Among the "Factors Hindering Unity" is the recognition that "English and French factions do not unite readily" and the complaint that "Many hyphenated Canadians think more of their old homes than of Canada" (p. 175). Bagnall and Norton, who held the inside track in Grade XII social studies until the mid-fifties, definitely lacked the intellectual sophistication of the writers they replaced. The same fortunately is not true of Brown or of a text by Professor Lower and J. W. Chafe (a high school teacher in Winnipeg), *Canada—A Nation; And How It Came To Be,*[32] introduced in 1952-53 as secondary and primary references in Grades XI and XII respectively.[33] As the two main high school histories of Canada in the decade after the second world war, they will be discussed together.

Both Brown and Lower and Chafe note that the Indians were hostile towards Cartier during his third visit to Canada but neither indicates why. The captivity and subsequent death of the kind Donnacona and his tribesmen are apparently no longer important. Brown devotes a whole chapter to the native peoples (both texts ignore the Eskimos) and both texts have chapters on missionary work among the Indians. Brown, unlike Lower and Chafe, does much to rehabilitate the Indian image. The Indians showed "remarkably ability" in adapting themselves to the country, displaying "great cleverness in making use of their resources" (p. 14). So adept were they in fact that the fur trader and pioneer learned "innumerable lessons [from them] which made life in the New World easier" (p. 18). The white man's coming, in turn, "seriously upset" the Indian way of life, bringing influences that were "injurious and destructive" (p. 19). "The Iroquois Scourge" remains in chapter VI, as do the "superstitions," the "belief in magic," and the "feasts and ceremonies which were often no better than wild orgies" (p. 39 in chapter V, "For the Glory of God"). But even the Iroquois occasionally draw praise. They were "democratic in some ways, being led for example, by chiefs who owed their positions solely to their skill and courage in battle, their eloquence and dignity" (p. 45). Lower and Chafe, in a much briefer treatment, associate the Indians with "'the powers of darkness'" in a "vast, pagan land" (p. 45). Father Brébeuf is a man of "almost giant stature and military bearing" who "must have presented a striking figure as he stood before his dark-skinned audiences" (p. 47), "reaching [with others] the souls of the savages" amidst "the indescribable filth of the villages and the loathsome food" (p. 48). The Iro-

quois at the Long Sault are simply "hundreds of bloodthirsty savages" facing Adam Dollard (p. 53). Can the brevity of treatment alone account for such occasional lapses into the vocabulary of the early twentieth century?

With Brown, the earlier stigma attached to the coureurs-de-bois and the voyageurs largely disappears. The governor at Quebec only felt that "the wanderings of the coureurs-de-bois among the Indians should be discouraged" (p. 63); the voyageur ("his clothing . . . a combination of French and Indian dress—the mocassin, the gaudy woven sash, the coon-skin or bright woollen cap") is a man of "good humour which was never far below the surface": "With their rollicking songs, their endless fund of stories, their gaily painted canoes, and their skill in forest they were a type of Frenchman completely weaned away from the life of Europe" (pp. 89-90). Lower and Chafe pay little attention to the coureurs-de-bois beyond a footnote definition filled with innuendo: ". . . a general term for all . . . who, usually in defiance of government and church, 'took to the bush' and 'went Indian'" (p. 62n). The voyageurs at Fort William accompany their stories with "much drinking" and "an almost continuous round of uproarious celebration in which our canoemen, scorning the chance for a well-earned rest, join with gusto" (p. 158).

The anti-British Pontiac, "able chief of the Ottawas" (Lower and Chafe, p. 126) and "perhaps the greatest Indian warrior in the history of the continent" (Brown, p. 116), comes off much better than the "famous Indian chief" Tecumseh, "that staunch British ally" (*ibid.*, p. 188), whose fame, power, and death Lower and Chafe merely note (pp. 180, 187). Also merely noted are the founding of Lunenburg by " a few hundred Germans" in 1753 (Lower and Chafe, p. 139; Brown, p. 113), and the "interesting mixture of people" in Nova Scotia by 1770, "some from France, Germany, and Switzerland" (Brown, p. 114). The Loyalists, as usual, get much attention, but, apart from the Anglo-Celtics, the vaunted "variety of people among them" is confined by Brown to the Dutch and Chief Joseph Brant's Mohawks (pp. 142, 143) and by Lower and Chafe to the Germans, Dutch, and Mohawks (pp. 144-45). Slavery and the blacks are no longer mentioned; the orientals of British Columbia, as we shall see, are barely noted. However, Lower and Chafe provide the model for future pioneer life: "Marriages between young people from different settlements were frequent and . . . as the process continued, the different racial settlements—Northern Irish, Highland and Lowland Scotch—began to 'melt'". . . (p. 208).

Brown pictures the Nor-Westers, the successors of the coureurs-de-bois and voyageurs, as jolly, carefree adventurers, engaged in "revelries" during "boisterous and hilarious" respites from their work (p. 149). Their offspring by Indian wives are praised as "sturdy and capable people, . . . excellent hunters and canoemen . . . [who] played a prominent part in the history of the North West" (p. 246). Lower and Chafe are less impressed. The same offspring had perpetrated the "'Massacre of Seven Oaks'" (p. 176) and their "primitive way of life" was held in "contempt" by "The English-Canadian immigrants at Red River" (p. 345). But it is Riel, as usual, who provokes the strongest comment:

> Riel had been educated for the priesthood in Montreal but because of his lack of balance had not been accepted by the Church. . . . in March, 1870, he commited a cruel and irresponsible act. When Thomas Scott, a young Orangeman from

> Ontario, proved defiant, he was given an unfair trial, then taken outside and shot. This incident, which wise policy could have avoided, was to have a tragic effect on our country (Lower and Chafe, p. 347).

When Wolseley's troops arrived, Riel "walked out" of the fort and "went into hiding" (*ibid.*, p. 348). Brown is fairer, but Scott still comes off blameless. Riel, "a young half-breed with some education and ability" was opposed by "the Canadians at Red River." "One, Thomas Scott, was thought by Riel to be unruly, and after a hasty trial was executed . . . . Thousands in Ontario regarded his execution as little short of murder, while in Quebec feeling ran equally high on the other side" (p. 332). Wolseley's expedition is mentioned only after the establishment of Manitoba as a province and there is no reference to Riel's departure. Brown, leaning heavily on Laurier, describes Riel in 1885 as a man "unbalanced in judgment and with weaknesses, such as vanity and indecision" (pp. 337, 364). Lower and Chafe dismiss Riel unceremoniously in 1885, blaming Sir John A. Macdonald for the whole fiasco (pp. 363-64).

As did Grant, Brown and Lower and Chafe have sections on "Newcomers From Many Lands" (Brown, pp. 365-69) and "The Opening of the West" (Lower and Chafe, pp. 395-400). The scenario is similar: Laurier on the threshold of the twentieth century, the aggressive Sifton, the earlier arrival of the Mennonites and Icelanders in the 1870s, the long period of subsequent economic stagnation, the coming of the strangers from central and southeastern Europe complete with pictures of men and women in sheepskin coats and white-washed houses with thatched roofs, the bloc settlements, and "On the west coast Chinese, Japanese and even Hindus [who] began to enter in numbers which alarmed the white people" (*ibid.*, p. 396). Two things stand out: (1) the inevitable 'sermon' at the end pointing a direction for the future, and (2) the absence of any attention to the fate of the settlers *and their children* in subsequent years. Brown's 'sermon' exemplifies the mutual exchange of 'gifts'—an approach in line with the view of Canada as a cultural mosaic, popular at the time.[34]

> One cannot wonder that these newcomers did not wish to forget entirely the homes they had left, and yet the vast majority sincerely wanted to be loyal citizens in the land of their adoption. Canada, they believed, could give them not only land but a freedom their fathers had never known. And in return, they brought qualities of thrift and patience, a love of beauty, of music, and of handicrafts, which, if woven into Canada's life, could colour and enrich it (pp. 368-69).

Lower and Chafe's 'sermon' stresses the theme of 'pure Canadianism.'

> In bringing about a real community in the Canadian West, out of the chaos of conflicting elements dumped into it, no more potent instrument existed than the country school. By 1914 its work and that of similar agencies had not gone far, and Western Canada was still not much more than a collection of individuals and groups. But a generation later, signs had multiplied that in that part of the country a new type was emerging, neither English, French nor European, but simply Canadian (pp. 399-400).

That the account of the immigrants and their children should end with such homilies is rather incredible. It is as if, upon arrival, the newcomers and offspring hit a huge swamp—an enormous field of quicksand—which simply swallowed them up! Brown does recognize that "Eskimos; In-

dians on a reservation unless they served in either of the two World Wars; Japanese, Chinese, Hindus, and Doukhobors in British Columbia; Japanese in all provinces" cannot vote (p. 530), but the rest is silence. How did the various peoples and their children fare in Canada? What were their main occupations, and how much has that changed? What specific problems did they pose for Canada? What problems, in turn, did Canada pose for them? What problems do each still pose for one another? What were their cultural and linguistic aspirations and how well have they been realized? In what ways have they helped to develop a distinctive Canadian identity? Were their efforts encouraged by the Anglo-Celtics and French? How? Could each generation have done more if their languages had been given the same encouragement as their handicrafts, folk dances, and cooking? Why is no attention paid to the cultures (including the languages) of Canada's 'other' peoples when the crisis of Canadian culture and identity is discussed? Will the glib assumption that progress is being made and time will take care of the rest suffice? "Since large-scale immigration ceased in 1930," according to Lower and Chafe, "the various peoples of our country have been settling down together and the process by which the newcomer becomes a citizen and a Canadian has been speeded up" (p. 433). Speeded up in what direction? In short, what is the content of the Canadianism being 'absorbed'? Brown's brief reference under "Suggestions for Reading" to *Canadian Mosaic* by John Murray Gibbon for "interesting information about the culture and crafts of the national groups" (p. 378) is no substitute for a chapter on how Canada's 'other' peoples have affected the long-standing debate on socioeconomic opportunity, culture, language, and national identity in Canada. Some of Canada's 'other' peoples have always been more visible than others; who have they been and why have they stood out?

Needless to say, the impact on central and southeast Europeans of the Military Service Act and Wartime Elections Act in 1917 is ignored, as is the dreadful fate of the Japanese in British Columbia after Pearl Harbor. Reference is made in Brown to the great development in the inter-war period of "organizations of all kinds—religious, charitable, commercial and educational" (p. 425), but apparently the page would have been marred had the word 'ethnic' been included, even though most of today's ethnic organizations date back to that time. The coming of the displaced persons is discussed by Brown (and noted parenthetically by Lower and Chafe, p. 487), but the paragraph ends on this pious note:

> Though Canada thus made a contribution to these newcomers, she gains much in return. Carefully selected and bringing with them the hope of beginning life anew, they will add to Canada's economic and cultural development as earlier immigrants have done in the past (p. 494).

Equally self-assured (though no less vague) is the following: "With the two main cultures are also mingling contributions brought by groups from many other lands. Greater understanding is thus bringing a clearer realization of the rich resources of Canada's population" (p. 500). Just as confident (and as misleading, even confusing) are some of the closing passages in Lower and Chafe. First, "signs are not wanting that we are marching" in the direction of "perfect harmony" and "French and English, 'new' Canadians and 'old' Canadians, are finding it easier to meet. We are all Canadians

together" (p. 491). The epilogue also recognizes, however, that Canada, after 1896, "made herself over into a state of far more varied humanity than she had ever been before" (p. 496). But on the next page, both the earlier 'pure' Canadians and the varied humanity become "two peoples" who occasionally quarrel but "are still together after two hundred years, and together go on to the conquest of the stern nature that surrounds them" (p. 497). The "varied humanity" has presumably slipped off into the sunset—or far more accurately into the Anglo-Celtic and French-Canadian melting pots (humble objects known to every school child as the exclusive property of the Americans to the south!)

Nor do the recommended civics book, the social studies classroom bulletins, or the American sociology textbooks help the situation much. For over a decade after 1952-53, the civics book listed as a secondary reference in Social Studies 2[35] and after 1953 also as a general reference in Social Studies 10[36] was *Canadian Citizenship*[37] by C. C. Goldring, D. Paed., Director of Education in Toronto. Part II "Life in a Community" ignores the ethnic organizations as usual, but chapter VIII "Culture in a Community: Church, Library, Art, Music, Drama" has a typical section on the "Contributions of New Canadians to our Cultural Life," complete with bar graph on "Racial Groups," based on the 1941 census. The "national culture" of people from many countries "becomes fused with what is here." The central Europeans and Russians excel in music; the Scandinavians in art and handwork. "The French have added to Canadian culture in language, music, and by some of their thought and traditions." The result of "our Anglo-Saxon origin" and the above enrichment of "our way of life" means that the level of Canada's cultural life "should be very high."

> One condition is necessary however. These newcomers . . . must be made to feel welcome and be received by the native-born Canadians. The newcomers should be assimilated into Canadian life and made to feel that they are in a very real sense, Canadians. They should not find it necessary to live apart in little racial groups across the country. Are the native-born Canadians in your community showing leadership in welcoming and trying to assimilate those who come from non-Anglo-Saxon countries . . . ? (pp. 87-88)

The book also exemplifies well still another thoughtless characteristic of the time, namely, the easy equation of the British Isles with Canada's "Mother Country" (p. 252), while all other groups, as the above quotation shows, are not even to live in "little racial groups," let alone be mindful of their mother countries overseas.

The social studies classroom bulletins issued by the Department of Education to aid high school teachers began in December 1943[38] and tapered off as other published materials became more prevalent in the early 1950s. Here, too, 'other' peoples are ignored, except for the section on "Immigration" in a bulletin which appeared in October 1944[39] and was reissued in February 1948[40] for use in Unit XI on "Immigration" in Social Studies 2.[41] While immigration is discussed largely in economic terms, the great historic periods in Canadian immigration are singled out, the restrictions placed on Oriental immigration after 1885 are outlined fairly extensively, and the "order of preference" (or 'racial pecking order') from the British Isles, down through northern, central, and southeastern Europe to the Orient is candidly admitted and attributed "largely" to two factors:

"standard of living and the readiness with which the newcomers are assimilated. These factors will probably continue to dominate our actions, virtually excluding Orientals" (p. 33). Interestingly enough, the reference to Orientals is excluded in 1948, as is the entire next to last paragraph which suggested hesitatingly that there might be other than economic aspects to the immigration "problem": "Perhaps we would do well to consider that those who come to our shores may bring with them great intellectual and artistic gifts or fine traits of character which will enrich the nation. They may give as much to Canada as they gain from her" (p. 34). Whether this passage was omitted because it gave offence as a meaningless platitude or a significant, question-begging truth is impossible to say. Immigration is briefly discussed again (without comment) in March 1952 after the 1951 immigrants reached the highest total (174,715) since 1913, and special attention is paid to the countries of origin, from which list the Orientals are conspicuously absent.[42]

If Canadian writers of classroom materials ever had any qualms about their superficial treatment of Canada's 'other' peoples, they no doubt could take heart from the equally vague offerings of American texts like Landis and Landis (1938).

> Each of these little foreign worlds in the great city presents difficult problems in city government, in law enforcement, and in Americanization. On the other hand, each nationality offers a certain enrichment of our life and our culture. American culture would be inconceivably impoverished if the contributions were withdrawn of those who have been cast into our "melting pot" during the past century under our liberal immigration policy. The Irish, Germans, Scandinavians, French, Italians, Russians, Spaniards, Jews, and other peoples who found political freedom, new homes, different tasks, and changed lives in the United States brought us many things—things, from the sociologist's point of view, bad as well as good, but neither all bad nor all good (p. 475).

Nor is the chapter on "Race and Nationality Problems" any more satisfactory. The main emphasis, as might be expected, is on the problem of color and on overcoming prejudice. The staggering magnitude of the neglect perpetrated by Canadian historians, social scientists, and pedagogues who wrote the authorized or recommended textual materials can be gauged from the fact that a whole generation of Albertans learned more about the problems of minorities in the United States than in their own country through chapters like the above or "Minority-Group Problems in a Democratic Society" (Landis, 1958) or "Minority Groups in America" (Landis, 1964)—all outside the context of the 'English-French' confrontation and the difficult politics of relating language(s) to the development of Canadian culture and a distinctive national identity.

No doubt, the low point in this respect was reached with the adoption in 1955[43] of *Canada in the Modern World,* a Grade XII social studies text written by three Edmonton high school teachers[44] and based on Professor Edgar McInnis's *North America and the Modern World.*[45] It was not replaced as the primary reference until 1967.[46] Canadian history was confined to the post-1763 period in Unit IV "Nationalism and the Modern World" (nine chapters out of twenty-eight) and even half of that was given over to the familiar theme of Canada's advance from 'colony to nation within the British Empire and Commonwealth.' With even the Loyalists

given only three short paragraphs, Louis Riel's first appearance, two sentences and his second, a single paragraph, it is not surprising that 'other' peoples are either ignored or dismissed with 'half-liners': "By 1905 the West was being opened by thousands of settlers . . ." (p. 320). Not surprisingly also, Albertans were not prepared for the wider implications of the explosive language-culture debate which descended upon them in the 1960s, for neither *The Book of Canadian Achievement*[47] nor *Culture in Canada; A Study of the Findings of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (1949-1951),*[48] also introduced in 1955 as secondary references in Social Studies 20,[49] had much to say about Canada's 'other' peoples. Out of fifty sections, the first book involved them in five: "An Indian Princess Sings" (Pauline Johnson, pp. 122-28), "Pioneer Painter of Indian Life" (Paul Kane, pp. 163-67), "He Made a New Art of Portrait Photography" (Yousuf Karsh, the Armenian genius, pp. 195-200), "Canada's Leading School of Music" (Drs. A. S. Vogt and Ettore Massoleni, member and president respectively of Toronto's Royal Conservatory of Music, pp. 214-16), and "A Music Festival Discovery" (fourteen-year-old Donna Grescoe, a "little violinist of Ukrainian parentage," now long forgotten, pp. 228-30).

Culture in Canada is interesting on several counts. It recognized that the subject of culture in Canada is commonly associated with "'long hairs'" and "' funny little minorities'" (p. 4); that the Massey Commission was concerned with a country marked by "great regional and cultural diversity" (p. 12); and that the proposed Canada Council would contain representatives from "the various cultures and regions of Canada" (p. 16). Even so, the cultural variety and diversity did not include language, for Canada's peoples consisted of "two language groups" (p. 17). The same paragraph which favored "more regional programming" on the CBC, encouraged radio broadcasting in English and French only (p. 18). Presumably the regional advisory councils appointed to "represent the views of the listeners" (p. 21) would have to cope with the regional linguistic and cultural aspirations of the "'funny little minorities.'" That the discussion of Canadian cultures outside a linguistic framework troubled the Commission is evident from the eagerness with which it seized upon painting "as an artistic and honest expression of the Canadian spirit" and "an important force in Canada's national unity, enhanced by the fact that there are no linguistic barriers" (p. 50). The idea of learning several of the many languages spoken in Canada to overcome some of the barriers did not apparently occur to the members of the august Commission—all solid members of the 'English-French' Establishment, including Professor Hilda Neatby, then acting head of the History Department at the University of Saskatchewan.

The Period from 1960 to the Present

The impact of Quebec's "Quiet Revolution" did not affect social studies education in Alberta until 1970 when the high school program was completely revamped around value questions and "Canadian Studies" became the subject matter of Social Studies 10.[50] Throughout the sixties, Canada's 'other' peoples, too, were portrayed through the teaching materials of the 1950s. In 1964-65 it was suggested that in Grade X, under Elective C

"Aesthetic and Cultural Values," the "maintenance of music appreciation of various ethnic groups" be included in connection with "Present-Day Features and Facilities,"[51] but no reading materials were recommended. In 1970 an entirely new list of readings was introduced, which after a year's trial was stabilized under "core" and "additional" references, with the observation that

> No single school will be able to purchase all the materials . . . . Teachers must exercise discretion in selecting those materials that seem best able to fulfill the specific aims and objectives of the school's social studies program . . . . It is recommended that no more than five copies per class of any one title be purchased.[52]

For "Values Issue(s)" No. V "Should Canada move toward greater national unity?" and No. VI "Should Canada have two official languages?" eight core and thirteen additional references were listed. It is significant that *The Official Languages,*[53] Book I of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism is a core reference, while *The Canadian Family Tree*[54] and Book IV of the same Commission, *The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups*[55] are both among the secondary references. Also among the core references are two histories, *The Canadian Experience*[56] by John S. Moir and D. M. L. Farr, professors of history at the University of Toronto and Carleton University respectively, and *Canada: An Outline History*[57] by J. A. Lower, a school teacher in Saskatchewan, unrelated to Professor Lower. Both histories are very matter-of-fact—almost scrupulously so. Because of Lower's slight size (248 pp.), events are treated sketchily and the book merits little attention. In both, however, characterizations are minimal and descriptions are usually carefully balanced: ". . . the settled life of the Aztecs . . . bears no resemblance to the primitive existence forced upon the nomadic hunting Indians of the harsh Canadian Shield" (Moir and Farr, p. 11); "There is no question that the hot-headed Scott had provoked and insulted Riel, but the Métis leader apparently seized upon a minor provocation to demonstrate his determination to Ottawa" (Lower, p. 124). The native peoples are handled in almost antiseptic-like fashion. Lower ignores the Eskimos and concentrates on the Iroquois. Moir and Farr deal with both the Eskimos and Indians and the word "savage" slips in only once: Some European explorers went forth "carrying the Cross to bring competing forms of Christianity . . . to the savages of foreign lands" (p. 20). More usually, the objective was to "Christianize the natives" (pp. 30, 33, 36). Neither book mentions Donnacona nor the subsequent hostility of the Indians towards Cartier. The natives are "debauched" by the coureurs-de-bois and the latter "brutalized" by contact with the Indians (Moir and Farr, p. 61). The Loyalists were "a cross-section of American society" (*ibid.*, p. 102), but only Chief Brant's Mohawks are specifically mentioned (p. 114). The Dutch and the German groups are part of the steady stream of immigrants after 1800 (Lower, p. 75), but Moir and Farr prefer to stress the religious groupings: ". . . large groups of German-speaking Mennonites, Dunkards, Quakers and other 'plain folk,' and Lutherans arrived from Pennsylvania and New York . . ." (p. 115). Riel's movements before and after 1870 and the events of 1884-85 are carefully detailed, and with the benefit of G. F. G. Stanley's *Louis Riel,*[58] Moir and Farr finally dispatch Riel as an insane heretic ("His

heresy was . . . [in French-Canadian] eyes proof of his insanity."), but Scott is again blameless and Macdonald ultimately at fault (pp. 249-54).

But if the Métis are finally given the attention they deserve, the same cannot be said of Canada's other 'other' peoples. The swamp is still there, wider than ever. Out of 576 pages, Moir and Farr devote only two to the period of settlement before 1914. The fact that "Ukrainians [and] Ruthenians (from the Balkans)" (p. 323) are still lumped together a half-century after Canadian Ukrainians began to rescue their identity is probably best overlooked. But how does one explain the failure to notice the fortunes of the Icelanders in Gimli, The Mennonites in the Red River valley, the Orientals on the west coast, the Blacks in Nova Scotia and Ontario, the Doukhobors in Saskatchewan and British Columbia, and the Hutterites in the Prairie provinces? The book's title is thus a misnomer, for what can "the Canadian experience" be where practically a quarter of Canada's population is ignored. So complete is the neglect that one might suppose western Canada had no demographic base—none, that is, other than the pallid euphemism 'English Canadians.' It is truly incredible that anyone with serious pretensions to writing a high school history of Canada in the late 1960s (after two generations of proud reference to Canada's mosaic, its cultural pluralism, etc.) could think it sufficient to include only three references to Canada's 'other' peoples in the last 249 pages. The first (a single line) is to the disastrous effect of the Wartime Elections Act (1917) on "Canadians born in enemy countries or naturalized since 1902" (p. 368); the second (two words) to the coming of the "displaced persons" after the second world war (p. 481); and the third (two lines) to Prime Minister Diefenbaker's being "intensely proud of his German origin and conscious that he represented that large number of Canadians who were of neither British nor French origin" (p. 506). In the last chapter on "Canada's Second Century: Problems and Prospects" the account is confined to the 'English' and French, to the "two founding races" (p. 558), and to the "two cultures" (p. 559), even though "the continuing debate on Canada—its nature and destiny" (p. 558) is explicitly recognized and Prime Minister Pearson's celebration of Canada's diversity (including language) in 1967 is quoted approvingly:

> The future of Canada, indeed its very survival, depends on our success in building a society where diverse races and languages, diverse talents and capacities, diverse energies and interests are not only permitted, but are encouraged to grow and develop side by side (p. 541).

It is almost as if the two historians found all the diversity embarrassing and decided to close the "debate." This they do very effectively when "Canada's Second Century" turns out to involve no more than two peoples, the 'English' and the French.

It is difficult to account for this confusion and neglect in high school history texts, but it may stem from misreading passages in such core references as the civics text, *Canadians And Their Government*[59] by A. S. Merritt, and the well-known historian, George W. Brown. From the chapter on "The Law, The Courts, and Civil Rights," it is clear that "an individual's race, creed (religion), colour, nationality, ancestry, or place of origin must not be determining factors in his hiring or firing, his treatment in employment, or his admission to a trade union" and that "the accom-

modation, services, or facilities of such public places as hotels, restaurants, stores, and barber shops must not be denied to an individual on account of his race, creed, colour, etc." (p. 71). Perhaps the wording is unfortunate for it suggests that such factors are unimportant, when precisely the opposite is intended. That is, each is so important, it ought to be accepted as part of each individual's make-up and not used against him in a discriminatory way. Being integral parts of each human being, such factors merit respect, not neglect, and access to opportunities and services on a non-discriminatory basis is a mark of the high regard in which such private and personal characteristics are regarded by a particular society.

Another core reference is *Challenge of Confrontation: Canada 70,* a series of six paperbacks by the *Toronto Telegram's* editorial team on "the Canadian predicament,"[60] in which, for the first time, Canada's 'other' peoples are dealt with extensively, particularly in two volumes, *The Prairie Provinces; Alienation and Anger*[61] and *Ontario; The Linchpin.*[62] The first gets to the heart of the matter early: "How do you explain ["to uninterested Easterners" (p. 5)] that French language rights just don't look all that important in a region where there are more Ukrainian- and more German-speaking people than French-speaking?" (p. 6). Another paragraph treats well the difficult question of how much cultural diversity can really survive within a melting-pot society:

> The Western Canadian is impatient because he is a person different from the "Easterner." He is part of a more colourful mosaic which is, perhaps, closer to the American melting pot. He believes there is need to drop extreme cultural distinctions when they interfere with the greater values of unity; but he refuses to relinquish his right to homeland language and customs. He believes this tenuous balance can be maintained so that Canada can become a living example to the world. He believes Canada has a vitally important role to perform in world councils of tomorrow. He believes that by drawing on the best of a multitude of cultures, the Canadian can enjoy the richest life ever offered (p. 6).

But the basic orientation of the series is nonetheless essentially assimilationist. Despite an account in *The Prairie Provinces* . . . of how "the erratic Riel won his way into history" (p. 24) "to perpetuate the duality of language" (among other things) only to witness the subsequent dearth of French immigration (p. 26); and despite frequent references to immigrants and their descendants from points other than France or the British Isles—the coming of the Mennonites and Icelanders (pp. 26-27), the Poles and Ukrainians with "extreme nationalistic notions in the early years to the point of wanting to establish a little Ukraine in Canada" (p. 33), their varying attitudes towards assimilation "into what was expected to become a distinctly English-speaking Canadian character" (pp. 33, 41-42, 59, 65), their current feelings about the Official Languages Act (pp. 7-8, 19, 20, 52-53, 57), the learning of 'other' languages (pp. 30-31, 33,), and special status for the French (pp. 50-52, 72); and even despite the first use of the term "multi-cultural" (pp. 44, 45, 72) and a whole chapter on "Canadians First, But . . ." (pp. 43-54), it is clear from the passages below that high school students were not to take the vaunted diversity seriously:

> Although many still speak the language of their ancestral homelands and retain some of their traditions, a new breed of Canadians has been emerging on the Prairies. They are an amalgam of many cultures, united behind the common purpose of creating a better Canada (p. 19).

> It was becoming increasingly difficult [by 1961] to separate an "ethnic" of one background from an "ethnic" of another country. Too many wanted simply to be Canadians. It was a point of regret to their elders, but apparently inevitable (p. 42).
>
> If your great-grandfather came from Scotland and married an Indian girl; and if their son married a French girl; and if their son married a Ukrainian girl; do you tell the census-taker your ancestors are Scottish, or—heaven forbid—do you whisper "Canadian?" (p. 43)
>
> . . . the main thing wrong with Confederation is special consideration given ethnic groups . . . (p. 48).
>
> Then there is the view of a successful, urbane, Ukrainian-descent lawyer in Regina, Edward Boyda:
>
> > I don't regard myself as a Ukrainian. My grandfather came here in the 1890s. I regard myself as a Canadian and I don't have any real contact with Ukrainian organizations as such. But I would think it fair to say there are those who think the Ukrainian language should be on a par with the French, but that view is steadily diminishing (p. 51).
>
> If there were regrets in mixing the colours of the mosaic, there is also pride in the resulting hue. They are calling it Canadian (p. 59).

There was , in short, "an exciting synthesis of many races" (p. 59), but, as usual, the precise impact of this on Canada's celebrated multiculturalism is ignored. Multiculturalism presumably can stand for anything!

The volume on Ontario is similar. A short chapter "Bilingualism But Not Biculturalism" (pp. 88-92) marks the shoals on which biculturalism eventually ran aground, but one also learns from "what the English usually call the Ethnics" that "The most persistent hope of the members of the cultural groups, who constitute more than one-quarter of the population now and should reach one-third by 1981, is that we all be Canadian" (p. 88). Blissful British Columbia,[63] where 47,000 "basic Canadians" (i.e., the Indians) find the debates about who came first "ironic" and where the Chinese "have assimilated happily" (p. 55), illustrates well the full gamut of contradictory views about the relationship of Canada's 'other' peoples to the language-culture debate. The Chinese, according to their leaders, are "Canadians first; they have contributed and they have taken. They would never try to assert their culture. Its preservation is family business, not the nation's" (p. 55). Meek and mild, cowed after decades of tortured history (but "wonderously devoid of bitterness"), the Chinese try hard to offend no one:

> They [the Chinese leaders] say French Canadians should have preference, that their language and culture must be safeguarded. ". . . the French and English are the élites."
>
> But they say also that Canada should not concern itself so much with becoming bi-cultural, It is, after all, a multi-cultural country (p. 59).

A young French Canadian from Maillardville makes it clear that "We are not trying to get the English [the Chinese presumably included!] to become bilingual"; another is sure that "There is something in the B.N.A. Act that does put the French in a higher echelon . . . . We don't think we're ethnics" (p. 57). The Indians, some of whom are becoming trilingual by learning French, disagree: "Hell no . . . . They were thoroughly defeated by the English and the Indians" (p. 58). The French Canadians in Quebec[64] (or at least Prime Minister Trudeau) are not afraid of the word 'ethnic,' referring to the "French Canadians" and "English-Canadians" as "our two ethnic

groups" (p. 12). The presence in Quebec of 'other' peoples is recognized and emphasis is placed on their opposition to separatism and their preference for the English language: "The next generation will speak English and French both, but their loyalties, learned from their parents, will be to Canada, not to Quebec" (p. 53).

In the end, the impression is strong that the Alberta high school student who had read all six volumes would be long on specifics, but short on understanding the fundamental issues. In the summary volume,[65] for example, he would learn from Quebec's late Premier Bertrand that "If there is a crisis in Canada, it is not because our country is made up of individuals who speak different languages; it is because Canada is the home of two communities, two peoples, two nations between whom relations need to be harmonized" (p. 113). But elsewhere in the same volume, he would also learn that "a vital difference between Canada and the United States is that here the multi-cultural mosaic replaces the melting pot" (p. 54) and that Canada "has a golden opportunity to become the world's shining example of how diverse regions and heritages can remain parts of a united whole without sacrificing their distinctive qualities" (p. 123). English-speaking Canadians should also encourage their children to learn "another language" (p. 104) or "a second language" (p. 141), when the implication is clear that it is French and not just any language that is to be learned. The ease with which "any furthering of other-language learning" (p. 92) and French are assumed to be interchangeable can only be attributed to the thoughtless manner in which words are thrown about on this important subject.

Such thoughtlessness is seldom evident in the last core reference to be considered, *The Official Languages,*[66] the first of several reports by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. While the reference to "Canada's languages and cultures" is not clear (p. xvi), the overall choice of words is careful and there is, as one might expect from the title, much reference to the "English- and French-speaking people" (p. xvi), to "the *two societies,*" "the *two majorities*" (emphasis in original, p. xvii), and to "an equal partnership between the two founding races" (p. xxi). But 'other' peoples are not completely excluded. The Commission objects "in the strongest terms" to the practice of restricting the term "ethnic" to groups which are "neither British nor French": "Ethnicity then appears as a strange, possibly distasteful phenomenon: "'ethnic'" seems to be given a sense something like "'foreigner'" (p. xxiv). Although rehabilitated by the Commission, ethnicity is "a phenomenon which the Commission, as it interprets its mandate, regards as being on the whole unrelated to its objectives" (p. xxv).

But Canada's 'other' peoples need not despair.

> Canadians who are of neither British nor French origin are covered by our inquiry in two ways: a) to the extent that they are integrated into English- or French-speaking society, all that is said of Anglophones or Francophones applies to them; and b) to the extent that they remain attached to their original language and culture, they belong to other ethnic groups, whose existence is definitely beneficial to the country. But their freedom to participate fully in Canadian life will be real only on two conditions: that both societies, the French-speaking as well as the English-speaking, accept newcomers much more readily than they have done in the past; and that the two societies willingly allow other

> groups to preserve and enrich, if they so desire, the cultural values they prize (p. xxv).

Favors for 'others' will now fall from the hands of 'two peoples,' not one, but the emphasis will be on "culture in the humanistic sense of the term" (p. xxv). Here the Commission is very explicit. After dismissing the anthropologist's view of culture ("every aspect of a group's existence" [p. xxx]), the Commission also dismisses "the traditional humanistic sense of the word 'culture'. . . [because] it is too restricted." However,

> We will have occasion to use the word in this sense . . . when we examine "the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the *cultural* [emphasis in original] enrichment of Canada . . . (p. xxxi).

Thus while it is specifically recognized that Canada is made up of "diverse peoples" (p. xxv) and that it is the Commission's intention "to recognize and to point up the cultural and linguistic riches that Canada possesses" (p. xxvi), the Commission's own definition of culture is so structured as to embrace only cultural dualism, not diversity—and that from coast to coast:

> . . . culture is a way of being, thinking, and feeling. It is a driving force animating a significant group of individuals united by a common tongue, and sharing the same customs, habits, and experiences. Clearly the two cultures designated in our terms of reference are those associated with the English and the French languages in Canada. But as there are the two dominant languages, there are two principal cultures, and their influence extends, in varying degrees, to the whole country (p. xxxi).

Having explicitly excluded "the indigenous cultures" from the "'other ethnic groups'" (p. xxvi), confined bilingualism to "Canada's two official languages, English and French" (p. xxvii), and tied biculturalism to bilingualism as defined above, it is easy for the Commission to offer the usual paeans of praise to cultural pluralism and even to recognize the possibility of "German-English, Ukrainian-English, Italian-English bilingualism, or, in Quebec, an Italian-French bilingualism" (p. xxvii), only to dismiss it. Not surprisingly, at the end there is a long "Separate Statement" by Commissioner J. B. Rudnyckyj stressing the importance of "Regional Languages in Canada," in particular those that are "major, stretching through considerable areas of the country." "Among the latter are the Eskimo-Indian languages in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon, Slavic (Ukrainian), and German languages in the Prairie Provinces, and Italian in the metropolitan areas of Toronto and Montreal" (p. 157). But the plan to give some languages the status of regional languages through provincial legislation falls on deaf ears. There is to be only one *proper* understanding of bilingualism in the country, about which any student with the stamina to wade through the ponderous volume should have no illusions.

Among the additional references there are several which refer occasionally to Canada's 'other' peoples even when the primary concern is elsewhere. In *Dear Enemies,*[67] for example, Mrs. Graham makes much of the fact that not all English-speaking Canadians are 'English' (pp. 18, 45, 48) or 'Anglo-Saxon':

> Here is a pretty little Chinese laundry, there is a good Turkish restaurant, a Negro night club, a huge Italian construction company, a big Greek shipping

> agency, a Ukrainian co-operative, a gigantic Jewish distillery, a Belgian corporation, a Viennese knitting mill, a firm of German contractors, a great Swiss bank . . . over there are SKF and Fina—all called, according to the extraordinary reasoning of the defunct weekly column 'A la Fortune [?] du Mot,[68] 'Anglo-Saxon enterprises.'
>
> Ouf!
>
> It is obvious that if, with a superhuman effort, one succeeds in eliminating this word, or at least in using it correctly, the immense diversity of Canada begins to be evident . . . (p. 57).

Mme. Roland, in turn, is shocked to learn that "French is taught as a 'foreign' language on a par with German, Spanish, and Italian . . ." (p. 34), and is "distressed to realize the extent to which our country is made up of islands, each with its own identity, each with its own personal concerns. When will we build bridges to unite us at least in some real community of thought?" (p. 35).

Within the paperback covers of *Canadian History in Documents, 1763-1966*[69] are found Riel's "Declaration of the People of Rupert's Land and the North-West," December 8, 1869 (pp. 158-60); his "'List of Rights'," March 1870 (pp. 160-62); the petition to Ottawa of the white and Métis settlers in the North-West, December 1884 (pp. 165-66); extracts from Riel's speech at his trial (pp. 167-70) and from his letter to Archbishop Taché while in prison (pp. 170-73); and extracts also from Sir Clifford Sifton's classic defence of the "stalwart peasant in a sheep-skin coat" in 1922 (pp. 203-5) and from a piece in the *Canadian Courier* on Anglo-Celtic reservations about immigration in 1914 (pp. 205-7). From *Canada and the French-Canadian Question*[70] the student will learn that because "Quebec is not a province like the others, . . . the French-Canadian minorities are not minorities like the others" (p. 24); that the French Canadian (according to Armand Lavergne, 1905), "who has lived in the country since its discovery," resents being made the equal in rights and privileges "to the Doukhobor or the Galician who has just disembarked" (p. 35); and that in 1916 Manitoba should only have abolished German, Ukrainian, and Icelandic bilingual schools and spared the French (p. 149). However, *The Canadian Political Nationality*[71] will probably only confuse the student. First "cultural considerations" and presumably cultural differences are consciously played down: ". . . the decline of British Imperial power has made the concept of a Canadian political nationality divorced from cultural considerations more widespread in English-Canada than ever before" (p. 131). Then they are just as consciously played up: "Political progress" today consists in creating and maintaining large governmental organizations whose geographic areas are extensive and populations "increasingly heterogeneous." Accordingly, "The Canadian experiment of maintaining a federal system which copes effectively with the intractabilities of our cultural and regional particularisms," should it succeed, will have "a great deal which is useful and encouraging to say to those who under circumstances which are infinitely more difficult than ours are attempting to establish and sustain multi-racial and multi-cultural political communities" (p. 132). Are, then, cultural considerations in the development of a Canadian political nationality important? First the answer is 'no,' then it is 'yes'—and the observation in the curriculum guide is most appropriate: "This book may be somewhat difficult for the average Grade X student."[72]

In *Separatism,*[73] a pamphlet containing recent articles published in *Maclean's,* Prime Minister Trudeau first recognizes that there are places in Canada where the Italians, Ukrainians, or Chinese outnumber the French Canadians, and then provides the best one-line introduction to "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework," a policy his government was soon to introduce[74]: "We will be more valuable and more effective members of the world community when we have learned to handle our two official languages and our many cultural traditions at home" (p. 52). However, in a neighboring section, "Western Discontent," a view common to many (perhaps even more mindful of demographic realities than the prime minister himself) is expressed by a Ukrainian-Canadian lawyer in Winnipeg: "You are going to go into a community where maybe 80 percent of the people speak Ukrainian, and because 10 percent of them speak French, French is to be raised above Ukrainian. Does this make sense?" (p. 58). The pamphlet pulls no punches and should enjoy a long life for the problems it raises are still with us.

But the three most important references in the additional category are undoubtedly *Canada: Unity in Diversity,*[75] *The Canadian Family Tree,*[76] and *The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups.*[77] The first, despite the attractive title, is a history of Canada with one very important difference: three of the four historians are French-speaking Canadians, Professors Jean Hamelin, Fernand Ouellet, and Marcel Trudel of Laval, Carleton, and Ottawa universities respectively. The last of the quartet is Paul G. Cornell of Waterloo. According to the introduction by York University's William Kilbourn, another professional historian, the book "focuses its primary attention on the diverse regions and cultures that have made up our rich and varied history" and seeks to redress the balance between "English-Canadian . . . French-Canadian and New Canadian viewpoints" (p. vii). Unfortunately, it falls far short of the mark. Its basic premise is that of "the Laval school of historians, as represented in three of this book's authors." Their choice for Canada is Henri Bourassa's choice, "this book's greatest single hero [for Kilbourn], if there are any heroes in it at all." "This choice stands for a truly bicultural Canadianism, a new and equal partnership of the two founding cultures throughout Canada . . . (p. x)."

Not surprisingly, the diversity is confined largely to very fair, highly informative, and lengthy accounts of the Indians and Eskimos, the "Amerinds" ("the term 'native' is easily confused with European settlers in America, and . . . 'savage' carries derogatory connotations" [p. 13]); the people of New France (including an interesting, three-paragraph discussion of some four thousand slaves over a 125-year period [p. 54]); the Métis and Riel, who, in Hamelin's hands, comes off rather worse than 'the insignificant' Scott, whose brazenness is entirely ignored; and the religious variations among the whites. "The French-Canadian ethnic group [in New France]," we learn from Trudel, "is not as pure in origin as it is usually thought to be . . . . Traces of other groups, such as Spanish, Portuguese and Germans have also been found" (p. 51). But though Saint Lawrence society reflected "the characteristics of a number of nationalities (English, Dutch, Swedish and Spanish), it was truly a unique Canadian society" (p. 106). The Germans are mentioned in connection with Lunenburg (pp. 119, 123) and Waterloo county, their important centre in Ontario (pp. 193, 373), and the

arrival of the Mennonites (pp. 290, 302), Icelanders (p. 290), and Doukhobors (p. 302) is recorded. But the other 'other' peoples are nowhere in sight and the put-down for those arriving before 1914 could not be greater; the swamp could not be deeper or wider. English-speaking historians had been indifferent enough, but nothing can equal Hamelin's snub in the "Development of the Prairie West":

> The statute of 1905 established juridical uniformity, not social uniformity. The western provinces formed a new region quite different from the older provinces. In 1911, the West differed from the East and the Centre in the composition of its population. Very few people had been born there; the farmers came from Ontario, the United States, the United Kingdom and from northern and central Europe. The diversity of mother tongues points to the diversity of nationalities. The extensive cultivation and the system of townships meant a low density of population, and the number of men greatly exceeded the number of women in the West. The populace was young and dynamic. In 1916, the average age was less than twenty-five years. The Prairies were equally distinctive in the kind of life led by their inhabitants. In 1901, 75 per cent of the population was rural, 65 per cent in 1911, whereas Quebec's rural population was only 51.6 per cent and the majority of Ontario's population was urban. The West was distinctive, again, being a religious potpourri. As well as the Catholics, Methodists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists found in the other provinces, there were Mennonites. Doukhobors, Lutherans, Greek Catholics, Greek Orthodox and a profusion of smaller sects (p. 297).

The implication is clear: the religious groupings are important because they will last; the multiplicity of tongues unimportant because they will, or should, not. And so 'Ivan Banyak' learns that he can expect no more at the hands of 'Jean Baptiste' than 'John Bull,' 'Jack Canuck,' and of course 'Uncle Sam.' "Prosperity [in the 1920s, writes Hamelin] fostered massive exports of wheat and massive entries of immigrants" (p. 415); ". . . and in the early years of peace [after the second world war, writes Cornell] a new wave of immigrants flowed in to augment the city populations further. 'New Canadians,' especially from southern and central Europe, quickly became a significant element in all large cities" (pp. 503-4). Significant in what sense? The Anglo-Celtic tradition of neglect is reinforced by a new group from whose sensibilities as a minority one could have expected more. The 'new' history, however, is as inadequate as the 'old,' but now even the title, a long-standing cliche popular with 'the ethnics,' is also preempted. And the reason is not far to seek. To Bourassa, according to Hamelin, "the settling of the West" was a factor in "overthrowing the established order" (p. 351):

> It was his wish that French and Catholic communities should spread throughout the Dominion. For Bourassa, not only was cultural duality the essence of Canadian nationality, but it was a condition of its existence. Only this duality would allow Canada to assert itself against America and resist Americanization (p. 352).

Bourassa attracted supporters and in 1903 "the Nationalist League" was formed, one of whose objectives was "to rebuild Canada around cultural duality" (*ibid.*). And so, the authors of *Canada: Unity in Diversity* are merely the carpenters of the late 1960s, convinced that the force of "the massive immigration in the West . . . threatening the influence of French Canada in Confederation" (p. 353), which so worried Bourassa, has been spent and after an unfortunate hiatus of some sixty years the task of building the Canadian nation on proper foundations can be resumed with

no more than a passing glance at the 'other' peoples, who constitute 43 per cent of the Canadian population west of the Ottawa valley.

The Canadian Family Tree, as helpful as it is, also cannot be taken seriously. Even though it does show how early and how extensive was the influence of most of Canada's 'other' peoples, it has several major weaknesses. First, it is a government document which carefully omits or (as in the case of Japanese coastal evacuation during the second world war) merely skirts the unpleasant and controversial. Secondly, it is integration- and thus assimilation-oriented. Both points are illustrated below:

> The more even distribution of the Japanese over the whole country has made it easier for them to become integrated into Canadian life. Thus their removal from the west coast, although a controversial issue, has not been without its advantages to them (p. 196).

Thirdly, it does not treat important groups such as the Blacks, Doukhobors, Hutterites, and Mennonites in their own right but subsumes the first under Americans, the second under Russians, and the third and fourth under Germans. Fourthly, it resorts to a tedious recitation of obscure names in the interests of the so-called 'contributions-approach,' which the first volume of the Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism disposed of handily:

> Everett Hughes 20 years ago called attention to the adsurdity of judging a group's right to exist "on the basis of the quality of its cultural peculiarities, called for this purpose its 'cultural contributions,'" he was speaking at the time of French Canadians, but his words apply also to the other groups (p. xxvi).

But the most serious inadequacy of *The Canadian Family Tree* is its penchant for lauding nearly everything but a group's linguistic resources. The latter are simply ignored—and ignored also, as a result, is the most important question of all: What is to be Canada's policy towards languages other than English and French? Compared to the latter, the value question in Grade X, "Should Canada have two official languages?" is now surely an academic one.

Nor unfortunately does *The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups,* which shares some of the above weaknesses, help in the matter of language. The Commission's recommendations relegate 'other' languages to the optional category and it is clear that they are merely to be languages of study, not instruction, even at the elementary school level (pp. 13, 139). The study "of the other official language should be obligatory for all students in Canadian schools" (p. 142), and Book II actually contains a recommendation to that effect,[78] thereby exploding the latest Canadian slogan: 'No one in Canada will be forced to learn French.' But such hypocrisy ought not to surprise anyone. As valuable as Book IV may be as an historical and sociological document, its basic orientation is assimilationist. Canada's 'other' peoples are "to integrate with either of the two societies" (p. 5), the "two dominant cultures, the French and British" (p. 13). Thus the Commission merely substitutes a choice between two melting pots where one existed before, and in its eagerness to protect biculturalism, it not only rejects multiculturalism (p. 12) but in the process condemns to oblivion the very bilingualism it wishes to foster. For the Commission recognizes that

> It is a fact that members of non-British, non-French cultural groups, or at least most members, tend to accept the Canadian duality with reluctance, preferring by far a concept which could be designated as simply "Canadian." When they must choose between the two societies, with all that the choice implies, they lean quite naturally towards the stronger, namely the Anglophone (p. 6).

Such being the case, the future of unilingualism and uniculturalism, rather then bilingualism and biculturalism, is assured. And in the end, to safeguard the French language, the children of Canada's 'other' peoples are not encouraged to see bilingualism in practical terms; such nascent linguistic ability as may still exist is not encouraged to develop. Yet English-German bilingualism in Saskatchewan or Ontario, for example, or French-English-Italian trilingualism in Quebec would strengthen the principle of bilingualism in all parts of Canada, thereby greatly enhancing the survival prospects of English-French bilingualism itself. But this presumably would give the individual freedom of choice in matters of language learning,[79] an idea which might render the portrayal of all of Canada's 'other' peoples less superficial, but one which has apparently been much too elusive for any of the writers whose materials have hitherto been authorized or recommended for study in the high schools of Alberta.

Conclusion

The portrayal of Canada's 'other' peoples in history and social studies textbooks at the senior high school level in Alberta has been unfortunately most inadequate. To date, only the "Amerinds" have been wholly rehabilitated. The Métis, and Riel especially, are only a step away; only the perspective on the prickly Thomas Scott needs to change. But for the other 'other' peoples the season has hardly begun. Scholars can either take to the fields (libraries, archives, their own studies) and join in the hunt (research and write extensively); continue to fire blank cartridges (slogans and clichés) in their backyards (most contemporary textual materials); or, alternatively, continue to refuse to take down (ignore) their rifles (pens) altogether on the subject of 'birds' (which too come in many varieties!) in favor of 'bigger game' (the politicians on their national and international stalking grounds). With even the existing literature on the subject,[80] to follow either of the last two alternatives exclusively would be a great pity.

[1] From the terms of reference of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and the title of that Commission's fourth volume, *The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970).

[2] *Annual Report of the Department of Education of the Province of Alberta,* 1912 (Edmonton: Government Printer, 1913), 12; *ibid.,* 1935 (Edmonton: King's Printer, 1936), 20.

[3] The statistical information is derived from the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book IV, *The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer. 1970), 247-66 and the federal government's "Green Paper," *Immigration and Population Statistics* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1974), 11-12. The tables below furnish further details.

TABLE I
PERCENTAGE OF 'OTHER' PEOPLES IN CANADA

Census Year	Percentage
1901	12.25
1911	15.90
1921	16.68
1931	19.38
1941	20.05
1951	21.28
1961	25.77
1971	26.73

TABLE II
PERCENTAGE OF 'OTHER' PEOPLES BY PROVINCES

Province	Census Year							
	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
Prince Edward Island	1.46	1.43	1.12	1.50	1.62	2.23	3.54	4.45
Nova Scotia	12.04	12.24	11.38	12.54	11.52	13.43	16.80	12.30
New Brunswick	4.12	4.23	3.56	3.82	3.65	4.54	5.90	5.32
Quebec	2.21	4.01	4.85	5.92	5.52	5.83	8.57	10.97
Ontario	13.38	14.74	13.75	17.26	18.06	22.60	30.08	31.16
Manitoba	29.37	33.35	35.81	40.72	43.34	44.81	47.87	49.97
Saskatchewan	53.19	41.08	41.59	47.00	49.95	51.46	53.16	51.80
Alberta	46.02	37.01	34.95	41.55	44.43	45.94	48.57	47.40
British Columbia	37.88	29.77	24.00	27.27	27.46	30.65	36.54	37.70

TABLE III
PERCENTAGE OF GERMANS IN CANADA AND SELECTED PROVINCES

Census Year	Canada	Nova Scotia	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskat-chewan	Alberta	British Columbia
1901	5.78	8.93	9.31	10.68	12.86	10.73	3.25
1911	5.60	7.90	7.66	7.58	14.42	11.13	3.24
1921	3.35	5.16	4.45	3.19	9.00	6.01	1.39
1931	4.56	5.28	5.07	5.44	14.02	10.08	2.45
1941	4.04	2.60	4.41	5.68	14.54	9.76	2.74
1951	4.43	4.47	4.83	6.99	16.30	11.49	4.75
1961	5.57	6.17	6.43	9.97	17.10	13.76	7.30
1971	6.10	5.19	6.17	12.45	19.44	14.19	9.07

TABLE IV
PERCENTAGE OF SCANDINAVIANS IN CANADA AND SELECTED PROVINCES

Census Year	Canada	Manitoba	Saskat-chewan	Alberta	British Columbia
1901	.58	4.67	1.59	5.40	2.73
1911	1.56	3.82	7.14	7.90	4.35
1921	1.90	4.37	7.71	7.56	3.62
1931	2.20	4.48	7.89	8.13	4.88
1941	2.12	4.47	7.68	7.97	5.08
1951	2.02	4.24	7.51	7.55	5.63
1961	2.12	4.10	7.30	7.20	5.94
1971	2.15	3.52	6.56	6.92	5.31

TABLE V
PERCENTAGE OF UKRAINIANS IN CANADA AND SELECTED PROVINCES

Census Year	Canada	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta
1901	.10	1.53	1.20	.87
1911	1.05	6.73	4.52	4.70
1921	1.21	7.23	3.71	4.05
1931	2.17	10.51	6.88	7.64
1941	2.66	12.30	8.90	9.03
1951	2.82	12.72	9.43	9.26
1961	2.59	11.43	8.52	7.95
1971	2.69	11.52	9.28	8.32

TABLE VI
PERCENTAGE OF ASIATICS IN CANADA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA

Census Year	Canada	British Columbia
1901	.44	10.93
1911	.60	7.86
1921	.75	7.57
1931	.81	7.34
1941	.64	5.19
1951	.52	2.20
1961	.67	2.47
1971	1.03	3.48

TABLE VII
PERCENTAGE OF INDIANS AND ESKIMOS IN CANADA AND SELECTED PROVINCES

Census Year	Canada	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia
1901	2.38	6.38	19.43	18.38	16.20
1911	1.46	2.87	2.38	3.05	5.14
1921	1.29	2.27	1.71	2.47	4.27
1931	1.24	2.21	1.65	2.08	3.54
1941	1.09	2.12	1.49	1.58	3.04
1951	1.18	2.71	2.68	2.26	2.45
1961	1.21	3.19	3.31	2.14	2.38
1971	1.46	4.35	4.20	2.70	2.38

[4] W. H. P. Clement, *The History of the Dominion of Canada* (Toronto: William Briggs. The Copp, Clark Company, Limited, 1897), vi.

[5] *Annual Report of the Department of Education of the Province of Alberta,* 1907 (Edmonton: Government Printer, 1908), 105.

[6] D. M. Duncan, *The Story of the Canadian People* (Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada, Limited, 1917). First published in 1904.

[7] *Regulations of the Department of Education Relating to Courses of Studies and Annual Examinations for Grades IX, X, XI, and XII for the year ending June 30th, 1924* (Edmonton: King's Printer, n.d.), 26.

[8] W. L. Grant, *History of Canada* (new and rev. ed.; London: William Heineman; Montreal: Renouf Publishing Company, 1927). First published in 1916.

[9] *Regulations of the Department of Education For the Year Ending June 30th, 1938 Relating to the Programme of Studies and Annual Examinations for High Schools (Grades X, XI, and XII)* (Edmonton: King's Printer, 1937), 81.

[10] A. B. Buckley and W. J. Robertson, *High School History of England and Canada* (Toronto: The Copp, Clark Company, Limited, 1902). First published in 1891, the text was adopted in the North-West Territories in the same year. *Report of the Board of Education for the North-West Territories from September 10, 1890 to September 2, 1891* (Regina: R. B. Gordon, 1892), 13, 15, 17.

[11] The date and numbers vary: "In 1750 the sailing ship *Anne* left Rotterdam for Halifax with 312 Germans aboard. They were part of a group of three thousand who had been recruited as settlers for the colony of Nova Scotia. Three years later about 1,500 Germans from the Halifax area moved down the coast to form a settlement of their own which they called Lunenburg." Canadian Citizenship Branch, Department of the Secretary of State, *The Canadian Family Tree* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967), 132.

[12] *The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups,* 248.

[13] *The Canadian Family Tree,* 80.

[14] *Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario 1950* (Toronto: King's Printer, 1950), 535.

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[16] F. R. Scott, *Canada Today; A Study of Her National Interests and National Policy* (London, Toronto, New York: Oxford University Press, 1939). The book was prepared for the British Commonwealth Relations Conference held in Sydney, Australia in 1938 and was issued under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.

[17] V. Anderson, *Problems in Canadian Unity* (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Limited, 1938). The book contained the papers and addresses delivered at the seventh conference of the Canadian Institute on Economics and Politics held at Lake Couchiching in 1938 and was issued under the auspices of the National Council of the YMCA in Canada.

[18] A. Siegfried, *Canada* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1937).

[19] *Bulletin III,* 38.

[20] Scott, ix.

[21] *Bulletin III,* 38.

[22] *Senior High School Bulletin 2 (Interim Edition 1953-54)* (Edmonton: Queen's Printer, 1953), 9.

[23] *Programme of Studies for the High School, Bulletin A* (Edmonton: King's Printer, 1944), 7. Cited hereafter as *Bulletin A.*

[24] *Programme of Studies for the High School, Regulations of the Department of Education for the Year Ending June 30th, 1946* (Edmonton: King's Printer, 1945), 57.

[25] L. A. Bagnall and D. Norton, *Contemporary Problems; National, Imperial and Internal* (rev. ed.; Calgary: Western Canada Institute Limited [1946]). The original was published by Bagnall in 1939.

[26] G. W. Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation* (rev. ed.; Toronto and Vancouver: J. M. Dent & Sons (Canada) Limited, 1950). The original was published in 1942.

[27] *Bulletin A,* 7.

[28] *Programme of Studies for the High School, Regulations of the Department of Education for the Year Ending June 30th, 1946* (Edmonton: King's Printer, 1945), 58.

[29] *Programme of Studies for the High School, Bulletin II* (Edmonton: King's Printer, 1946), 12.

[30] *Senior High School Curriculum Guide for Social Studies 10, 20, 30 and 33 (Interim),* Province of Alberta, Department of Education, September, 1967, 52.

[31] P. H. Landis and J. T. Landis, *Social Living; Principles and Problems in Introductory Sociology* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1938) was introduced with Brown in 1944-45 as a general reference in Social Studies 2 (*Bulletin A,* 7). Thereafter, it was recommended regularly as a secondary or general reference in Social Studies 1 (10) and 2 (20). In 1953 it became both a recommended student reference (as an alternate to J. Macdonald, *The Community, First Steps in Sociology* (Toronto, Vancouver: J. M. Dent & Sons (Canada) Limited, 1938), and a teacher reference in Sociology 1 (*Senior High School, Bulletin 2 (Interim Edition, 1953-54) (Edmonton: Queen's Printer, 1953),* 25 and in 1955 in Sociology 20 ("Sociology 20, Reprinted from Bulletin 2, 1953 edition," 3£.) Revised twice (P. H. Landis, *Social Living; Sociology and Social Problems* (1958) and P. H. Landis, *Sociology (1964), it ceased to be recommended reading in the social studies in 1970 (Senior High School Curriculum Guide Social Studies* 1970, Province of Alberta, Department of Education, 23-31), but there is no evidence that it has been replaced as the text book in Sociology 20 (*Curriculum Guide For Sociology 20,* Province of Alberta, Department of Education, September, 1965, 5).

[32] A. R. M. Lower and J. W. Chafe, *Canada—A Nation; And How It Came To Be* (2nd rev. ed.; Toronto, New York, London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1958). First published in 1948.

[33] *Senior High School Bulletin 2, Interim Edition 1952-53,* Province of Alberta, Department of Education, 1952, 9, 19.

[34] For the meaning and origins of the term as applied to Canada, see J. M. Gibbon, *Canadian Mosaic; The Making of a Northern Nation* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Limited, 1938), viii-x.

[35] *Senior High School Bulletin 2, Interim Edition 1952-53,* Province of Alberta, Department of Education, 1952, 9.

[36] *Senior High School Curriculum Guide for Social Studies 10 and 20 (Tentative Edition),* Province of Alberta, Department of Education, September 1953, 24.

[37] C. C. Goldring, *Canadian Citizenship* (Toronto and Vancouver: J. M. Dent & Sons (Canada) Ltd., 1948). First published in 1937 as *We Are Canadian Citizens; A Community Civics Reader for Grades VII, VIII and IX,* the book was recommended for Alberta junior high schools in *Programme of Studies for the Intermediate School (Grades VII, VIII, and IX) and Departmental Regulations Relating to the Grade IX Examinations.* Authorized by the Department of Education [Edmonton: n.d. (1937)], 33, 34.

[38] *Classroom Bulletin on Social Studies,* No. 1, December 1943 (Edmonton: King's Printer, 1943).

[39] *Ibid.,* No. 3, October 1943 (Edmonton: King's Printer, 1943), 24-37.

[40] *Ibid.,* No. 14, February 1948 (Edmonton: King's Printer, 1948), 3, 14.

[41] *Bulletin A,* 13. The classroom bulletin supplemented specific readings in Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation,* 54-55 (Talon's immigration policy), 113-14 (immigration to Nova Scotia before 1770), 168 (immigration to the Maritimes in the 1770s), 71-72 (Loyalist settlements in Lower and Upper Canada), 193-204 (the "Great Migration" from the British Isles, 1815-50), 365-69 ("Newcomers From Many Lands"), "and appropriate readings from others of the reference books."

[42] *Classroom Bulletin on Social Studies,* No. 28, March 1952 (n.p., n.d.), 32-33.

[43] *Senior High School Curriculum Guide for Social Studies 10, 20 and 30,* Province of Alberta, Department of Education, September 1955, 118.

[44] B. Lawrence, L. C. Mix, C. S. Wilkie, E. McInnis, *Canada in the Modern World* (Toronto and Vancouver: J. M. Dent & Sons (Canada) Limited, 1955).

[45] E. McInnis, *North America and the Modern World* (Toronto and Vancouver: J. M. Dent & Sons (Canada) Limited, 1945).

[46] *Senior High School Curriculum Guide for Social Studies 10, 20, 30 and 33 (Interim),* Province of Alberta, Department of Education, September 1967, 104.

[47] H. Palk, *The Book of Canadian Achievement* (Toronto and Vancouver: J. M. Dent & Sons (Canada), Limited, 1951).

[48] A. A. Shea (ed.), *Culture in Canada* (Toronto: Core, 1952.)

[49] *Senior High School Curriculum Guide for Social Studies 10, 20 and 30,* Province of Alberta, Department of Education, September 1955, 64.

[50] *Senior High School Curriculum Guide for Social Studies,* Province of Alberta, Department of Education, 1970.

[51] *Interim Senior High School Curriculum Guide for Social Studies 10, 20 and 30 for 1964-65,* Province of Alberta, Department of Education, 21.

[52] *Senior High School Curriculum Guide for Social Studies,* Province of Alberta, Department of Education, 1971, 34.

[53] Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book I. *The Official Languages* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967).

[54] *The Canadian Family Tree* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967), prepared by the Canadian Citizenship Branch. Department of the Secretary of State and published in co-operation with the Centennial Commission, Ottawa.

[55] Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book IV. *The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970).

[56] J. S. Moir and D. L. M. Farr, *The Canadian Experience* (Toronto, Winnipeg, Vancouver: The Ryerson Press, 1969).

[57] J. A. Lower, *Canada; An Outline History* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1966).

[58] G. F. G. Stanley, *Louis Riel* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1963).

[59] G. W. Brown and A. S. Merritt, *Canadians And Their Government* (Toronto, Vancouver: J. H. Dent & Sons (Canada) Limited, 1961).

[60] *Senior High School Curriculum Guide for Social Studies,* Province of Alberta, Department of Education, 1971, 42.

[61] *The Prairie Provinces; Alientation and Anger* (Toronto, Montreal: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1969).

[62] *Ontario; The Linchpin* (Toronto, Montreal, McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1969).

[63] *British Columbia; The Great Divide* (Toronto, Montreal: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1969).

[64] *Quebec; The Threat of Separation* (Toronto, Montreal: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1969).

[65] *Canada 70; A Summary Coast to Coast* (Toronto, Montreal: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1969).

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[70] R. Cook, *Canada and the French-Canadian Question* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1966).

[71] D. V. Smiley, *The Canadian Political Nationality* (Toronto & London: Methuen, 1967).

[72] *Senior High School Curriculum Guide for Social Studies,* Province of Alberta, Department of Education, 1971, 45.

[73] *Canadian Issues: Separatism* (rev. ed., Toronto: Maclean-Hunter Learning Materials Company, 1971).

[74] *House of Commons Debates,* October 8, 1971, 8545-48, 8580-85.

[75] P. G. Cornell, J. Hamelin, F. Ouellet, M. Trudel, *Canada: Unity in Diversity* (Toronto, Montreal: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Limited, 1967).

[76] Canadian Citizenship Branch, Department of the Secretary of State, *The Canadian Family Tree* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967).

[77] Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book IV, *The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970).

[78] Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book II, *Education* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969), 230-31, 302.

[79] For a further development of this position, see M. R. Lupul, "A Just Language Policy For A 'Just Society,'" *Report of Manitoba Mosaic, October 13-17, 1970* [Winnipeg: Extension Division, University of Manitoba, 1971], 68-75.

[80] For a comprehensive bibliography, see A. Gregorovich, *Canadian Ethnic Groups Bibliography* (Toronto: Ontario Department of the Provincial Secretary and Citizenship, 1972). A few of the more recent, better works include the following: M. Davis and J. F. Krauter, *The Other Canadians; Profiles of Six Minorities* (Toronto: Methuen, 1971); J. L. Elliott (ed.), *Immigrant Groups* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1971); J. Norris, *Strangers Entertained; A History of the Ethnic Groups of British Columbia* (Vancouver: British Columbia Centennial '71 Committee, 1971); H. Palmer, *Land of the Second Chance; A History of Ethnic Groups in Southern Alberta* (Lethbridge: The Lethbridge Herald, 1972); P. H. Migus, *Sounds Canadian; Languages and Cultures in Multi-Ethnic Society* (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Limited, 1975). H. Palmer (ed.), *Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism* (Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing, 1975).

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Prescriptive Teaching: Changes in Stage of Logico-Mathematical Thinking and Spatial Development in a Group of Opportunity Class Children

Prescriptive teaching is an approach employed by special educators working with exceptional children. The present paper considers changes in stages of logico-mathematical thinking in subjects who were included in a prescriptive teaching program of seven months' duration. The results indicate potential value of prescriptive teaching in accelerating development in exceptional children. (Dr. Whyte is Professor in the Department of Educational Psychology, The University of Alberta.)

Prescriptive teaching is one of the innovative alternatives proposed when it became evident that traditional special education programs were at best producing no better results and at worst producing even less effective results than holding the special child in the regular classroom.

This paper is concerned with one aspect of intellectual functioning, logico-mathematical concepts, and with development of representational space in opportunity class children who were included in a prescriptive teaching program of seven months' duration. The data are from a larger study, The Efficacy of Prescriptive Teaching for the Exceptional Child.

Subjects

Fifty-three subjects were selected from a rural-urban county school system in Alberta for the experimental program. Children from six "opportunity" classes were selected. Seventeen subjects were selected from "opportunity" classes in a similar adjoining county as the contrast group. Opportunity class children are characterized mainly by cultural deprivation, intellectual retardation at the Educable Mentally Retarded—borderline levels, and specific learning disabilities. I.Q. and C.A. characteristics of the Experimental and Contrast Subjects are provided in Table 1.

The Experimental Subjects were chosen from three schools, two classes

TABLE 1
SAMPLE STATISTICS

Treatment Groups	N	C.A.*			I.Q.**		
		$\bar{X}$	S.D.	Range	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	Range
Experimental	53	110.9	25.5	74-171	74.5	13.6	46-107
Contrast	17	107.9	24.7	69-143	71.7	10.1	50- 93

* Ages are presented as months ** WISC Full Scale IQ

per school and included almost the entire population in one county school system segregated in opportunity classrooms. The Contrast Subjects were chosen from three opportunity classrooms in one school and included the entire segregated school population labelled "opportunity class children" in that county.

Procedure

Subjects were pretested at the beginning of a school year and posttested in May of the same school year. During the interim period prescriptive teaching from extensive assessment data in intellectual, language, perceptual-motor, social, and academic areas was carried out by resource teachers and teacher aides. Briefly, the educational program consisted of remediating areas of deficit and teaching to areas of strength.

Tests

Stage of logico-mathematical and representational space functioning was assessed with Piagetian tasks. The tasks included:

I. Tests of Logical Thinking:
   1. Multiplication of classes: ability to classify one object by multiple criteria.
   2. Inclusion of classes: ability to compare a subclass with a class or a part with the whole.

II. Mathematical Concepts' Tests:
   1. Conservation of number: an understanding that a given number of objects remains unchanged regardless of how the group is arranged.
   2. Seriation: ability to order and compare two seriated groups drawn to a different scale, regardless of how the groups are ordered.
   3. Conservation of length: an understanding that rods of equal length remain equal even though they are compared from different positions.
   4. Measurement of length: ability to use measuring standards.

III. Representational Space Tests:
   1. Localization of topographical positions: ability to copy movements from left to right and top to bottom from the same plane and when movements require 180° of change.
   2. Concepts of left and right: an understanding of the two sides of the body which allows for location of left and right on one's own body, on the body of a person facing you, and an understanding that left and right are relative rather than absolute terms.
   3. Coordination of perspectives (the three mountains test): observation

> of a succession of partial perspectives, each one limited to the point of view established by one or another partial perception, and an integration of these partial perspectives in a general system which includes simultaneously all the relationships existing between the observer and each of the objects as well as between the objects themselves.

The Teaching Program

Resource teachers and teacher aides were provided to assist the teachers in the special classes in implementing the program. Undergraduate and graduate special education students at the University of Alberta were employed as teacher aides and resource teachers for the children in the Experimental classes. The special class teachers continued unassisted with a traditional program for the Contrast Group. The emphasis for the latter group was on developing academic skills and modifying behavior.

The prescriptive teaching program did not aim directly at teaching the concepts required for solution of the test tasks. An individual program was designed for each child based on data from the intellectual, language, perceptual-motor, and academic tests. The programs were implemented whenever possible in group situations for a number of reasons. Piaget has stressed that the presence of four criteria is essential before a child will become operational in his thinking: (1) a prerequisite level of maturity; (2) presentation of experiences necessary to move the child to the next stage of functioning; (3) social interaction; (4) reversibility of thought. Mental age on the Stanford Binet was used to determine whether presentation of particular types of materials and experiences was feasible. Children were taught in small groups of from two to six to provide an opportunity for social interaction. Manipulation of materials by the children during structured experience situations where the teacher asked questions critical to discovery learning was used to develop reversibility of thought.

In general, information from standardized tests was used as follows. If a child showed an overall low level of functioning on the verbal subtests of the WISC (scaled scores below 7) a formal program to teach children "to think" such as the Thurstone Learning to Think Series was used. In this program, as well as all other programs, verbalization was stressed; e.g., the teacher would ask: "Are these two pictures the same or different? How are they the same? Can you prove they are the same? How are they different? Look at each bit of detail. In what direction are the heads pointing? Are they the same in size? What is each (kitten) doing? Are the whiskers the same? How are the whiskers on this kitten different from the whiskers on that kitten?" In short, the children were made to justify every answer. This skill transferred to the "why" questions in the Piagetian tasks.

If a child showed an overall low level of functioning on the performance subtests of the WISC, it indicated usually that perceptual-motor deficits were present. Tests such as the Bender Gestalt, Purdue Perceptual Motor Survey, Harris Test of Lateral Dominance, Frostig, and Draw-A-Man were administered to verify the hypothesis and to indicate the exact nature of the deficit. Treatment varied according to the nature of the deficit and age of the child. For example, if on the Purdue Perceptual Motor Survey the

profile showed splintered skills, a Kephart type program aimed at improving specific areas of deficit was used. If there was overall immaturity of functioning, a Cratty type program aimed at teaching the child body image and how to use his body was used. The latter program was generally used with young retarded children and the former with learning disability children with motor deficits. It was expected the skills acquired in perceptual-motor training would transfer to representational space areas.

The language development program relied heavily on diagnostic information from the ITPA. It was hypothesized that language training would transfer to all verbal areas and possibly would increase stage of development in the logico-mathematical areas. To this end, particular emphasis was placed on development of grammar and syntax and vocabulary development. All aspects of the program aimed at vocabulary development, both in quantity and quality. The children were introduced to new labels and encouraged to use them. They were questioned regarding class names, e.g., oranges and apples are both round; both are fruit. Bananas are also fruit but not round. What is it that makes all three fruit? In this way children were led to progressively higher and higher classifications. They were forced to describe objects along many dimensions in order to increase discriminating abilities.

Comparison labels were taught in many contexts, e.g., this is taller but this is wider; pencils are skinny, crayons are fat. It was hypothesized that discriminating abilities and increased comparison labels taught with a wide variety of materials and during many experiences would transfer to development of logico-mathematical areas.

Questions

1. Will clinical teaching programs aimed at ameliorating specific deficits in language diagnosed by currently available standardized tests, increase stage of development in logico-mathematical functioning as assessed by Piagetian tasks?
2. Will clinical teaching programs aimed at ameliorating specific deficits in perceptual-motor functioning as diagnosed by currently available standardized tests, increase stage of development in representational space as assessed by Piagetian tasks?

Analysis of data

Means and standard deviations were found for each of the variables for subjects divided by treatment group, and for subjects divided into three C.A. ranges. From these data gain scores were determined. Because of the weaknesses inherent in gain score statistics, analysis of covariance was carried out using pre-measures as the covariate. Where significant overall effects were detected, Scheffé tests on adjusted means were carried out for pairs of groups using .05 significance level.

Results

Gain scores from pre- to posttest were determined by comparing the means from both tests. Gain scores in logico-mathematical thinking and representational space are presented in Table 2. For these tasks Piagetian stages are numbered from 0 to 3, i.e., from sensorimotor (0) to concrete

TABLE 2
GAIN SCORES IN LOGICO-MATHEMATICAL THINKING AND REPRESENTATIONAL SPACE DEVELOPMENT: EXPERIMENTAL VS. CONTRAST GROUPS

Variable		Experimental Group $\bar{X}$	S.D.	Gain	Contrast Group $\bar{X}$	S.D.	Gain
Multiplication of classes	Pre	5.2	1.5		4.5	1.1	
	Post	6.1	1.4	+0.9	5.1	1.3	+0.6
Inclusion of classes	Pre	3.9	1.9		4.3	2.0	
	Post	4.8	1.9	+0.9	4.2	2.0	-0.1
Number Conservation	Pre	4.6	2.3		3.5	1.7	
	Post	5.1	2.2	+0.5	3.8	1.9	+0.3
Seriation	Pre	2.4	1.7		2.8	1.2	
	Post	3.6	1.7	+1.2	2.8	1.7	0.0
Length Conservation	Pre	6.1	1.1		5.8	1.0	
	Post	6.2	1.1	+0.1	6.3	1.0	+0.5
Measurement of Length	Pre	2.3	1.7		1.8	1.0	
	Post	3.1	2.1	+0.8	2.2	1.4	+0.4
Localization of Topographical Positions	Pre	5.0	1.2		*	*	
	Post	5.3	1.4	+0.3	*	*	-
Concepts of Left-Right	Pre	3.2	1.5		*	*	
	Post	3.5	1.5	+0.3	*	*	-
Coordination of Perspectives	Pre	2.4	1.4		*	*	
	Post	2.9	1.4	+0.5	*	*	-

* The three representational space tasks were not included in the list of tests for the Contrast Group.

operational (3). For some tasks there are also substages, e.g., 3A, 3B. To quantify the data a new scale was used:

stage 0 = 1 sensorimotor
stage 1A = 2
stage 1B = 3
stage 2A = 4 preoperational
stage 2B = 5
stage 3A = 6 concrete operational
stage 3B = 7

Zero was used when a subject could not perform on a specific task and it was assumed the child was still functioning in some areas at the sensorimotor level.

In multiplication of classes the contrast group made a gain of less than one substage (4.5 to 5.1) and the experimental group made a gain of one substage (5.2 to 6.1). As a group the experimental subjects initiated the stage of concrete operations but the contrast subjects did not.

In the inclusion of classes test, the gain for the experimental subjects was identical to the gain in multiplication of classes. The contrast group showed no change. However, the stages for both the contrast and experimental groups were considerably lower for the latter than for the

former task: Contrast group: 4.3 to 4.2, Experimental Group: 3.9 to 4.8; neither group became concrete operational. These results are in agreement with previous results found by Whyte (1969), i.e., that the concept involved in inclusion of classes seems to be I.Q. linked, with duller children becoming operational later in inclusion of classes than in other classification tasks and brighter children becoming operational in inclusion of classes earlier than in other classification tasks.

In number conservation gains were minimal. Both groups remained at the preoperational stage: the experimental subjects moved from stage 4.6 to 5.1, while the contrast subjects moved from stage 3.5 to 3.8.

There was no change in the mean stage in the seriation task for the contrast subjects but substantial change for the experimental group; however, neither group became concrete operational. The experimental subjects moved from stage 2.4 to 3.6 while the contrast subjects remained at stage 2.8. Both groups were considerably below the concrete operational stage.

There was little change in stage in conservation of length for either group but most subjects including the contrast group were operational at pretest. There were more upward changes in stage in measurement of length but stage of development was far from operational functioning: the contrast group increased from stage 1.8 to 2.2 while the experimental subjects increased from stage 2.4 to 3.1.

The representational space tasks were not administered to the contrast group since these tests were included in the "diagnostic test battery". The means for localization of topographical positions for the experimental subjects were stage 5.0 to stage 5.3, a gain of less than one substage. For concepts of left and right the means were stage 3.2 to 3.5, a gain of less than one substage. Similar results were found for the task coordination of perspectives: stage 2.4 to 2.9, a gain of less than one substage.

Within the total study, *A Study of the Efficacy of Prescriptive Teaching for Exceptional Children,* the experimental subjects were divided into three subgroups, two classes per group. With each subgroup a different administrative plan was used to determine the amount of assistance a special class teacher would require to implement a prescriptive teaching program. For group 1, both resource teachers and teacher aides were used; in group 2 only resource teachers were used and in group 3 only teacher aides were used. These subgroups were considered in the next analysis.

Analysis of covariance was carried out using pre-measures as the covariate. Where significant overall effects were detected, Scheffé tests on adjusted means were carried out using .05 significance level. Any values that exceed 9.45 [F (3,65)] are significant at .05 level. Significant overall effects were found for multiplication of classes and seriation but when pairs of groups were compared for the former, the values were not significant; the values for the latter were significant for the contrast group and experimental group 1 (10.32).

When analysis of covariance was carried out on the diagnostic data for the three experimental groups and using pre-measures as the covariate, values exceeding 6.45 [F(2,49)] were significant at the .05 level using Scheffé test on adjusted means. Significant values for pairs of groups were found for multiplication of classes (12.73 for Groups 1 vs 3, i.e., groups

where resource teacher and teacher aide vs teacher aide); for groups 1 vs 3 in concept of left-right (9.22); for groups 2 vs 3, i.e., resource teacher vs. teacher aide (8.95).

Because each experimental group comprised subjects ranging in C.A. from 5-9 to 14-3, the subjects from the three groups were considered as one treatment group but divided according to C.A. The three age groups were group I (C.A. less than 8-0), group II (C.A. 8-1 to 11-0), and group III (C.A. 11-1+). The C.A. and IQ characteristics are presented in Table 3. The gain scores considered by C.A. group are presented in Table 4.

Gains made by Group 2 appear greater than gains made by Groups 1 & 3 for multiple classification and inclusion of classes but the mean scores for multiplication of classes were 4.8 to 5.4, 5.2 to 6.4 and 6.1 to 6.8, and for inclusion of classes 3.2 to 3.7, 3.8 to 5.0 and 5.7 to 6.3. Group 3 subjects were closer to operational thinking at pretest but Group 2 did make substantial gains in the classification tasks, even though fewer of these subjects became operational. Similarly, Group 3 made only slight gains in conservation of number and conservation of length but pretest and posttest scores for the former were 6.6 to 7.0 and for the latter 7.0 to 7.0. Consequently, all subjects in Group 3 were concrete operational in these areas. Mean scores for Groups 1 & 2 in these tasks were 2.9 to 3.6 and 5.2 to 5.5 in conservation of number and 5.3 to 5.4 and 6.3 to 6.5 for conservation of length.

Very few subjects became operational in seriation (1.4 to 2.9, 2.5 to 3.7, and 3.9 to 5.0 for Groups 1, 2 & 3 respectively) and measurement of length (1.1 to 1.4, 2.4 to 3.5, and 4.3 to 5.7).

Laurendeau and Pinard (1970) cite the following as C.A. ranges for stage of development in the three representational space tasks:

(1) Localization of topological positions—stage 2, C.A. range 4.0 to 7.2, stage 3A, C.A. range 7.2 to 9.6, and 3B, 9.6+.
(2) Concept of left-right—stage 1, C.A. range 4.6 to 7.6, stage 2, 7.6 to 10.6, and stage 3, 11.6+.
(3) Coordination of perspectives—stage 1, C.A. range 6.0 to 8.3, stage 2, 8.3 to 11.0, and stage 3, 12.0+.

In localization of topographical positions subjects in Group 1 (< 8.0) were functioning at stage 2A and made no gains; Group 2 subjects made

TABLE 3
IQ CHARACTERISTICS OF THREE CHRONOLOGICAL AGE GROUPS

		C.A.*			IQ**		
C.A. Groups	*N*	Range	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	Range	$\bar{X}$	S.D.
< 8-0	19	74- 95	85.63	5.70	48- 91	74.21	14.0
8-0 to 11-0	25	97-131	114.6	11.29	52-107	74.52	13.69
11-1+	9	133-171	154.1	12.6	51- 85	74.20	7.42

* Ages are presented as months.
** WISC Full Scale IQ.

TABLE 4
GAIN SCORES IN LOGICAL THINKING AND REPRESENTATIONAL SPACE DEVELOPMENT: THREE CHRONOLOGICAL AGE GROUPS

Variable	C.A. < 8-0		C.A. 8-0 to 11-0		C.A. 11-1+	
	N	Gain	N	Gain	N	Gain
Multiplication of Classes	19	+0.6	25	+1.2	9	+0.7
Inclusion of Classes	19	+0.5	25	+1.2	9	+0.6
Number Conservation	19	+0.7	25	+0.3	9	+0.4
Seriation	19	+1.5	25	+1.2	9	+1.1
Length Conservation	19	+0.1	25	+0.2	9	0.0
Measurement of Length	19	+0.3	25	+1.1	9	+1.4
Localization of Topographical Positions	19	-0.1	25	+0.5	9	+0.5
Concept of Left-Right	19	+0.2	25	+0.1	9	+0.8
Coordination of Perspectives	19	+0.5	25	+0.9	9	-0.1

slight gains (5.2 to 5.7 or stage 2B), and Group 3 subjects gained +0.5 substage (5.7 to 6.2 or stage 3A), that is, the subjects in this study were approximately one substage below the norms for their C.A. Somewhat greater discrepancy between C.A. and stage of development was found for the concept of left-right task: Group 1—2.5 to 2.7; Group 2—3.3 to 3.4, and Group 3—4.6 to 5.4. Only Group 3 made noticeable gain (+0.8). Results were even more discrepant for the coordination of perspectives task: Group 1—1.7 to 2.2, Group 2—2.3 to 3.2, and Group 3—2.9 to 3.8.

It would appear greatest gain for these subjects in task 1 occurs in the below 8 and 8 to 11+ range, and in task 2 in the 11+ range; in task 3 gains were made by the youngest and middle subjects with no gain occurring in the 11+ range.

Analysis of covariance was carried out by chronological age using premeasures as the covariate. Where significant overall effects were detected, Scheffé tests on adjusted means were carried out using .05 significance level. Any values exceeding 6.46 [$F(2,49)$] are significant at the .05 level.

Significant values for pairs of groups were found for measurement of length for Group 1 vs. Group 2 (9.75), and Group 1 vs. Group 3 (14.04); for localization of topographical positions for Group 1 vs. Group 2 (10.47) and Group 1 vs. Group 3 (9.01); for concept of left and right for Group 1 vs. Group 3 (17.40) and Group 2 vs. Group 3 (12.43).

Conclusions

In general, the experimental subjects made gains in more areas and gains were of greater magnitude than gains by the contrast subjects. The experimental subjects made greater gains than the contrast subjects in multiplication of classes and inclusion of classes, seriation and measurement of length, however, in only one area, multiplication of classes, were

gains sufficient to move the subjects into the stage of concrete operational thinking. Gains in number conservation were minimal for both groups. The contrast group made no gains in inclusion of classes and seriation. The experimental subjects made only slight gains in the three representational space areas.

Gains made by the experimental subjects in logical thinking were equal for the two areas of classification ability sampled; however, as a group the subjects became concrete operational in multiplication of classes but not in inclusion of classes. At pretest the functioning level of these subjects was one stage apart in these two areas (1B vs 2B) and at posttest the spread remained the same (2A vs 3A). The reasons for this discrepancy in hierarchical development in exceptional children should be investigated since it seems to indicate a splintering of skills in logical thinking.

When gains in classification ability were considered by chronological age level, the middle group (C.A. 8-0 to 11-0) made the greatest amount of gain; however, for the oldest group the gain scores are misleading since many of these subjects had initiated the top stage at pretest. The mean posttest scores in multiplication of classes for the first two groups were higher than the mean pretest scores of the next oldest group, that is, the Group 1 posttest mean was 5.4 while the mean pretest score for Group 2 was 5.2, and the mean posttest score for Group 2 was 6.4 and the mean pretest score for Group 3 was 6.1. This phenomenon did not occur for any of the other tests. Several possibilities are suggested. Rate of development in multiplicative classification ability appears to be more amenable to displacement than rate of development for the other areas. There was very little overlap among the age groups in any of the other abilities; however, there were consistent gains indicating exceptional children do make normal, if slower, progress toward concrete operational thinking.

Ability to handle seriation notions and to apply conservation of length concepts showed substantial gains (more than one substage in five of the six C.A. comparisons) but subjects as a group did not become operational in either of these areas. Nevertheless, gains do indicate possible areas of potential development for these children.

In general, it can be stated that the prescriptive teaching program for these children was successful in increasing development in logico-mathematical skills. The pattern of hierarchical development and the nature of the interrelatedness of these abilities are areas which require investigation, as should the specific results of the various components of the program, e.g., how successful is language development in grammar and syntax in increasing stage of development.

The prescriptive teaching program was much less successful in increasing ability to handle concepts of representational space. While gains did occur, the magnitude of change was not great. By chronological age level, the greatest gains gains in concepts of left and right were made by the oldest children, while in coordination of perspectives the two older groups made equal gains (almost one substage in each instance). In spite of gains, stage of development remained well below C.A. expectations. There are several possible explanations. The prescriptive teaching program was based mainly on diagnostic information from perception and space tests which

seems to fit Piaget's notions of perceptual space rather than representational space. Remediation was geared to these particular areas of deficit. It may be that representational space is not as amenable to change from this type of remediation and what is required is a different type of teaching program.

There is a second hypothesis, that spatial deficits are reflecting some manner of neurological involvement. If this hypothesis is valid, spatial deficits may be less amenable to remediation regardless of the nature of the remediation program. The distinction between perceptual and representational space should be investigated as should differential teaching programs.

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Perceptions of Educational Goals: A Survey

This study was designed to determine opinions of students, teachers, parents and community leaders about: (1) the extent to which 18 commonly acceptable educational goals are now being *achieved in schools, and (2) the extent to which the same 18 goals* should be *achieved.*
The results indicate that respondents in all target populations agreed that the 18 goals should be *achieved. There was, however, some variability among groups in terms of their perceptions of the extent to which the goals* are *and* should be *met. (Dr. Mosychuk is the Assistant Superintendent, Research & Evaluation; Dr. Blowers is Director of Research; Dr. Penner is Director of Evaluation; and Linda Weekley was a research assistant, all in the Department of Research and Evaluation, Edmonton Public School Board.)*

The importance of prescribed goals in facilitating the educational process has been recognized by many writers (e.g., Downey, 1960; Dumas & Beckner, 1968; Saylor & Alexander, 1966). According to Saylor and Alexander (1966), such goals are invaluable because they serve a number of different but vital functions. They suggest that educational goals serve to clarify the role of the school, guide educational decision making, determine the selection of units of school learning experience, set the parameters for the school experiences of pupils, and provide a basis for evaluating and improving the curriculum of the school.

Although there has been agreement concerning the value of educational goals, there has been a continuing controversy regarding the specific goals to be prescribed within particular educational systems. This controversy has been relatively sharp in recent years and is evident in most school systems in western society (Ebel, 1972; Toffler, 1970). To some writers, the lack of specifying appropriate educational goals is judged to be the root cause of current difficulties in education. For example, Ebel (1972) has contended that,

> Public education in America today is in trouble. Though many conditions contribute to our present difficulties, the fundamental cause is our confusions concerning the central purpose of our activities. (p. 7)

One of the major causes of the controversy regarding the identification of education goals stems from the direct relationship which obtains between the needs and attitudes of a particular society and that society's educational goals (Brent & Kronenberg, 1970; Downey, 1960), a relationship which must be maintained if public education is to receive continued support from society. The implication of this relationship is that administrators must remain cognizant of, and responsive to, a society's changing needs and attitudes when educational goals are being set (Taba, 1962). However, in attempting to fulfill this task, controversy arises from the conflicting demands of the many interested but diverse groups, agencies and individuals who are more than willing to assume the task of establishing goals for education (Dumas & Beckner, 1968). Consequently, to facilitate the process of goal selection, administrators are required either to restrict the number of groups sampled (e.g., Aucoin, 1967) or to sample a broader segment of society (e.g., Robin, 1972) and face a larger task of selecting and compromising particular educational goals.

The present study represented an attempt to assess and compare the opinions of a number of societal groups concerning the educational goals which should be salient in elementary and secondary education. These groups were selected primarily on the basis of their great concern for the character of the education in elementary and secondary schools. Thus, the project was designed to assess the opinions of both teachers and parents associated with the project schools. In addition, however, the study was also designed to sample the views of two groups, community leaders and students, who have been largely overlooked in previous research but whose views on educational goals were deemed by the present researchers to be particularly valuable. In view of the influence community leaders exert on local affairs, the importance of assessing their opinions is readily apparent. However, the value of students' opinions regarding educational goals has been largely unrecognized. Yet, according to Saylor and Alexander (1966), it is the capacities, talents and potentialities of the students themselves that fix parameters for growth and development and the achievement of goals. It is clear that students' opinions constitute a dimension which cannot be overlooked in the establishment of appropriate and worthwhile educational goals.

Finally, compared with a number of other goal studies which have been conducted in Alberta (e.g., Aucoin, 1967; Downey, 1960; Department of Educational Administration, 1959; Robin, 1972), the present project focused on assessing the parents', students', teachers', and community leaders' views on educational goals as they specifically bear on urban elementary, junior high and senior high schools.

Thus, the present project was conducted in recognition of the continuing need for school systems to be aware of and responsive to, the desires and needs of the community, particularly as they are related to the educational process.

Method

Research Instrument

A set of 18 primary educational goals was selected from the educational goal literature. The selected goals were: Communication, Rationality, Preservation of the Environment, Lifelong Commitment to Education, Adaptability, Self-Actualization, Character Development, Cultural Appreciation, Effective Use of Leisure, Occupational Selection, Personal Health, Cultural Understanding, Vocational Preparation, Human Relationships, Citizenship, Family Responsibilities, Consumer Awareness, and Social Conscience.

The 18 goal statements were presented to the respondents in a questionnaire booklet. To ensure consistency in the interpretation of the goal statements, a list containing some specific "similar goal statements" was also provided. For example,

1. COMMUNICATION. Develop this student's ability to communicate ideas freely and effectively. Similar goal statements:
   a) develop a background in oral and written English
   b) develop skills in reading, writing and arithmetic
   c) develop skills in speaking and listening.

In relation to each goal statement, respondents were required to answer two questions. Each response was given on a 4-point scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". First, they were asked to indicate the extent to which the school SHOULD BE attempting to achieve each particular goal. Secondly, respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they felt the school IS NOW attempting to achieve each goal. The intent of the second question was to examine the differences in perceptions between what goals they felt the school *should be* achieving and what they *now are* achieving.

Sample Selection

An elementary, junior high, and a senior high school were selected from among the Edmonton Public School Board schools for this study. The elementary school was the "feeder" school for the junior high and the junior high school was the "feeder" school for the high school. The attendance areas for the sample schools were considered to be generally representative of the Edmonton community.

Within each of these schools, students were randomly selected for administration of the questionnaire. However, since it was not deemed feasible to involve students below the Grade 5 level, the elementary school sample was selected from the student enrolment in Grades 5 and 6. The teacher sample included all certified staff in the three schools; this involved teachers, administrators, librarians, and counselors. The parent samples were randomly selected from among those parents whose children attended the selected elementary, junior high and senior high schools.

Finally, the community leader sample was drawn from the City of Edmonton at large and included the leaders of community, service, business and professional organizations, senior members of municipal and provincial governments, and representatives of the media.

Questionnaires were distributed to each of the selected groups. Table 1

TABLE 1
NUMBER OF QUESTIONNAIRES ADMINISTERED AND RETURNED

Sample Groups	Number Administered	Number Returned	Percentage Returned
Elementary Students	113	102	90.3
Junior High Students	110	107	97.3
Senior High Students	376	236	62.9
Elementary Teachers	13	12	92.3
Junior High Teachers	25	24	96.0
Senior High Teachers	104	82	78.8
Elementary Parents	100	30	30.0
Junior High Parents	100	31	31.0
Senior High Parents	500	134	26.8
Community Leaders	254	106	41.7
TOTAL	1695	864	51.0

contains a summary of the number of questionnaires distributed and returned.

Data Analysis

Within each of the 10 sample groups, responses of "strongly agree" and "agree" were combined. The percentage of agreement by each group with each goal statement on the SHOULD BE and IS NOW questions was then computed. The difference in percentage responses on the SHOULD BE and IS NOW questions on each of the 18 goals for each group was calculated.

Results

Table 2 records, for the 18 goals, the combined agreement percentage of each group who consider that the school SHOULD BE attempting to achieve each particular educational goal. As indicated in this table, a majority in each group considers that the school should attempt to achieve all of the 18 goals; the lowest percentage agreement on any one goal is shown by elementary teachers on the goal of "Family Responsibilities" (i.e., 58.3%). Table 2 also reveals however, that the patterns of agreement across the 18 goals varies among groups. This is illustrated by the wide range of ranks among the different groups for some of the particular goals.

The respondents were asked to indicate their perception of the extent to which the school IS NOW attempting to achieve each goal. The percentage of respondents within each group who agreed that the school is attempting to achieve each particular goal is recorded in Table 3. Compared with the SHOULD BE data (Table 2), this table indicates that *a majority in every group* considers that, according to their perceptions, the schools *are not* attempting to achieve at least two of the goals. In fact, a *majority of the*

TABLE 2
PERCENTAGE AGREEMENT ON EACH GOAL BY 10 GROUPS ON *SHOULD BE* QUESTION

Goals	Students						Teachers						Parents						C.L.	
	Elem.		Junior		Senior		Elem.		Junior		Senior		Elem.		Junior		Senior			
	%	*R	%	*R	%	*R	%	*R	%	*R	%	*R	%	*R	%	*R	%	*R	%	*R
Communication	95.1	1	82.2	1	83.4	1	100	1	87.5	1	85.4	2	63.4	4	87.1	1	68.6	2	65.1	3
Rationality	69.7	8	71.1	2	74.5	2	91.7	2	83.4	2	87.9	1	80.0	1	67.7	5	73.9	1	67.0	1
Environment Preservation	50.0	16	33.7	17	39.0	12	83.3	8	66.6	4	78.1	3	50.0	11	54.9	8	59.0	4	67.0	1
Commitment To Education	54.9	12	36.4	16	33.5	15	75.0	10	50.0	14	32.9	17	33.3	15	32.3	15	25.4	17	37.8	13
Adaptability	51.0	15	53.3	6	44.1	8	66.7	12	66.6	4	58.5	10	50.0	11	54.9	8	41.8	11	37.8	13
Self Actualization	80.4	3	44.0	12	42.8	10	91.7	2	54.1	11	63.5	6	66.7	2	70.0	4	33.6	14	44.3	10
Character Development	52.0	13	44.9	10	47.4	5	75.0	10	62.5	8	52.4	12	60.0	5	54.9	8	36.6	13	37.8	13
Cultural Appreciation	51.9	14	44.9	10	46.2	7	83.3	8	66.6	4	57.4	11	60.0	5	74.2	2	57.5	5	61.4	4
Use of Leisure	56.9	11	40.1	15	31.7	16	33.3	17	50.0	14	43.9	16	56.6	8	29.0	17	32.1	16	48.1	8
Occupational Selection	59.8	10	59.8	3	56.4	4	33.3	17	62.5	8	63.4	7	33.3	15	38.7	14	45.5	10	37.7	16
Personal Health	83.4	2	54.2	5	37.8	14	91.7	2	58.3	10	50.0	13	66.7	2	58.1	7	57.5	7	52.8	7
Cultural Understanding	70.5	7	56.1	4	41.5	11	91.7	2	66.6	4	61.0	9	56.6	8	64.6	6	62.7	3	60.4	5
Vocational Preparation	71.5	6	48.6	8	70.0	3	66.7	12	54.1	11	74.3	4	36.7	14	47.4	13	56.0	6	43.4	11
Human Relations	79.4	4	50.4	7	46.7	6	91.7	2	54.1	11	67.1	5	53.4	10	71.0	3	50.8	8	59.4	6
Citizenship	74.5	5	48.6	8	44.1	8	91.6	7	75.0	3	62.2	8	60.0	5	54.9	8	46.3	9	48.1	8
Family Responsibilities	33.3	18	31.7	18	12.7	18	41.6	16	20.9	18	28.1	18	30.0	17	32.3	15	33.6	14	31.1	17
Consumer Awareness	48.0	17	41.1	14	31.7	16	50.0	15	33.3	17	48.8	14	26.7	18	22.6	18	25.4	17	19.8	18
Social Conscience	61.8	9	44.0	13	38.6	13	66.7	12	37.5	16	46.3	15	40.0	13	48.4	12	40.3	12	42.5	12

* Rank based on percentage

junior and senior students, senior parents and the community leaders consider that the schools are not attempting to achieve more than nine of the 18 goals. The table reveals considerable consistency among groups in terms of the agreement to which goals are perceived as being met. This is illustrated by the close similarity of ranks among groups for most of the individual goals. The greatest majority responses in all 10 groups occurs in relation to the Communication and Rationality goals while the smallest minority percentage occurs in nine of the 10 groups in relation to the Family Responsibilities and Consumer Awareness goals.

Finally, Table 4 records the differences in percentage responses between the SHOULD BE and IS NOW questions on each of the 18 goals. These data give some indication of the different groups' perceptions of the goals which should be given greater emphasis in school education. As evidenced

TABLE 3
PERCENTAGE AGREEMENT ON EACH GOAL BY 10 GROUPS ON *IS NOW* QUESTION

Goals	Students						Teachers						Parents						C.L.	
	Elem.		Junior		Senior		Elem.		Junior		Senior		Elem.		Junior		Senior			
	%	*R	%	*R	%	*R	%	*R	%	*R	%	*R	%	*R	%	*R	%	*R	%	*R
Communication	97.1	1	91.6	1	93.7	5	100	1	100	1	92.7	3	86.7	7	71.0	18	87.3	7	90.6	6
Rationality	86.3	8	87.9	3	94.5	5	91.7	8	95.8	4	91.5	6	80.0	15	80.6	6	86.6	9	90.6	6
Environment Preservation	88.2	7	85.0	8	94.1	4	100	1	91.7	8	91.5	6	93.3	1	77.5	8	88.8	5	88.6	11
Commitment to Education	77.5	12	66.3	18	80.1	18	100	1	95.8	4	95.1	1	90.0	2	80.7	4	91.0	2	95.3	2
Adaptability	74.5	15	85.0	8	92.3	7	91.7	8	91.7	8	91.5	6	86.7	7	77.4	9	91.0	2	90.6	6
Self Actualization	91.2	3	86.9	5	92.3	7	100	1	95.8	4	92.7	3	90.0	2	87.1	2	93.2	1	89.6	10
Character Development	74.5	15	78.5	14	83.5	14	91.7	8	91.7	8	84.1	14	90.0	2	77.4	9	86.5	11	84.0	6
Cultural Appreciation	69.6	17	77.5	15	81.7	16	91.7	8	95.8	4	92.7	3	70.0	17	77.4	9	78.3	16	56.8	14
Use of Leisure	80.4	11	82.2	11	81.7	16	83.4	13	87.5	13	89.1	10	66.6	18	77.4	9	82.8	14	85.9	15
Occupational Selection	85.3	10	90.6	2	95.3	2	91.7	8	83.3	14	82.9	15	90.0	2	90.3	1	89.6	4	92.5	4
Personal Health	91.1	4	79.4	13	86.0	12	100	1	91.7	8	79.2	16	83.4	9	77.4	9	86.6	9	92.5	4
Cultural Understanding	90.2	5	86.9	5	92.3	7	100	1	91.7	8	95.1	1	90.0	2	74.2	15	87.4	6	90.5	9
Vocational Preparation	86.3	8	85.0	8	93.7	5	75.0	15	70.9	17	74.3	17	83.4	9	80.6	6	77.6	18	83.0	18
Human Relations	94.1	2	85.9	7	97.0	1	100	1	100	1	89.0	11	83.4	9	80.6	4	85.0	13	93.4	3
Citizenship	89.2	6	76.6	16	87.3	11	83.3	13	100	1	89.0	11	83.4	9	87.1	2	78.1	17	96.2	1
Family Responsibilities	69.6	17	82.2	11	83.0	15	58.3	18	83.3	14	61.0	18	76.7	16	77.4	9	78.4	15	84.0	6
Consumer Awareness	77.5	12	87.9	3	89.8	10	75.0	15	70.9	17	86.6	13	83.4	9	74.2	15	85.8	12	87.8	13
Social Conscience	75.5	14	74.4	17	86.0	12	75.0	15	83.3	14	90.2	9	83.4	9	74.2	15	87.3	7	88.6	11

* Rank based on percentage

in this table, there are some goals which most groups agree should be the subject of more efforts by the school (e.g., Commitment to Education, Occupational Selection, Family Responsibilities) whereas there are others which are perceived as being given nearly satisfactory emphasis by the school (e.g., Communication, Rationality).

Discussion

The results obtained indicate that a majority of the students, teachers, parents and community leaders whose opinions were sampled in the study considered that elementary, junior high and senior high school education should be directed toward achieving all of the 18 educational goals which were the focus of the study. A number of goals which elicited particularly

TABLE 4
DIFFERENCE PERCENTAGES BETWEEN *SHOULD BE* AND *IS NOW* RESPONSES BY 10 GROUPS

Goals	Students			Teachers			Parents			C.L.
	Elem.	Junior	Senior	Elem.	Junior	Senior	Elem.	Junior	Senior	
Communication	2.0	9.4	9.8	0.0	12.5	7.3	23.3	-16.1	18.7	25.5
Rationality	16.6	16.9	20.0	0.0	12.4	3.6	0.0	12.9	12.7	23.6
Environment Preservation	28.2	51.3	55.0	16.7	25.0	13.4	43.3	22.6	29.8	21.6
Commitment to Education	22.6	29.9	46.6	25.0	45.8	62.2	56.7	48.4	65.6	57.5
Adaptability	23.5	31.7	48.2	25.0	25.0	33.0	36.7	22.5	39.2	52.8
Self Actualization	10.8	42.9	49.5	8.3	41.7	29.3	23.3	17.1	59.6	45.3
Character Development	22.5	33.6	36.1	16.7	29.2	31.7	30.0	22.5	49.9	46.2
Cultural Appreciation	17.7	32.6	35.5	8.4	29.2	35.3	10.0	3.2	20.8	25.4
Use of Leisure	33.5	42.1	50.0	50.1	37.5	45.1	10.0	48.4	50.7	37.8
Occupational Selection	25.5	30.8	38.9	58.4	20.5	19.5	56.7	51.6	44.1	54.8
Personal Health	7.7	25.2	48.2	8.3	33.4	29.2	16.7	19.3	35.1	39.7
Cultural Understanding	19.7	30.8	50.8	8.3	25.1	34.1	33.4	9.6	24.7	30.1
Vocational Preparation	14.8	36.4	23.7	8.3	16.8	0.0	46.7	33.2	21.6	39.6
Human Relations	14.7	35.5	50.3	8.3	45.8	21.9	30.0	9.6	34.2	34.0
Citizenship	14.7	28.0	37.2	-8.3	25.0	26.8	23.3	32.3	31.8	48.1
Family Responsibilities	36.3	50.5	70.3	16.7	62.4	32.9	46.7	45.1	44.8	52.9
Consumer Awareness	29.5	46.8	58.1	25.0	37.6	37.8	56.7	51.6	60.4	68.0
Social Conscience	13.7	30.4	47.4	8.3	45.8	43.9	43.4	25.8	47.0	46.1

NOTE: Scores are calculated as: SHOULD BE minus IS NOW

strong agreement from most of the groups can be identified. These include the goals of Communication, Lifelong Commitment to Education, Self-Actualization, Occupational Selection, Human Relations and Citizenship.

The results also revealed, however, that there was some variability among groups in terms of their agreement on the extent to which each of the educational goals were being attempted in the schools. Although there was some similarity in responses among the three student groups and the three teacher groups respectively, there was little overlap among the parent groups. In addition, there was little similarity between the response patterns of students and their teachers and parents, and the parents and community leaders, although the responses of the latter tended to overlap those of the teachers. The educational goals which appeared to contribute most to the variability between groups include those of Adaptability, Cultural Appreciation, and Personal Health.

Assuming that the student, teacher, parent and community leader groups are those most closely and vitally concerned with the nature of school education, the variability among the groups has an important implication for administrators involved in setting educational goals. Specifically, if educational goals are in any way to reflect the disparate desires and needs of these concerned groups, administrators must devote considerable attention to selecting and rationalizing the goals which are given salience in school education.

Finally, analysis of the difference percentages between each of the groups' SHOULD BE and IS NOW responses suggests again that there is both agreement and disagreement among the groups in terms of the goals that the groups perceive should be given greater salience than they have at present in the schools. There is fairly consistent and strong agreement that the schools should be devoting more attention toward facilitating such goals as Lifelong Commitment to Education, Adaptability, Occupational Selection and Consumer Awareness. At the same time, however, there is less agreement among the groups concerning the need for the schools to focus on such goals as Self-Actualization, Cultural Appreciation and Cultural Understanding. Obviously, such results as these emphasize the need for continued goal study research in order that education can most effectively enhance and satisfy the interests, needs and desires of society.

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The Objectives for Teaching Mathematics in the Junior High School as Perceived by Parents, Students, Teachers and Professional Educators

A list of fifteen objectives for teaching junior high school mathematics was obtained from the related literature. These objectives were ranked according to perceived importance by selected groups of teachers, parents, students and professional educators.

By summing the ranks of each objective, consensus rankings for each group were derived. Calculated values of Kendall's Coefficient of Concordance W for each group indicated that concensus rankings were interpretable. The groups were compared pairwise on the rankings of specific objectives. Each of the six possible pairs taken from the four groups showed significant differences on at least two objectives. Finally, the contingency coefficient C was computed to determine the degree of association between the groups and their rankings of each objectives. There was a significant level of association on six of the fifteen objectives.

In summary, parents and students were quite similar in their rankings. As a group, professional educators were appreciably different in their ranking while junior high school teachers, as a group, were somewhere in between, but probably closer to the students and parents than to the educators. (Dr. Olson is Associate Professor in the Department of Secondary Education at the University of Alberta; Ella Freeman is a junior high school mathematics teacher with the Ponoka, Alberta, School Board.)

Judgments concerning the worth of objectives for schools have not frequently been systematically solicited from the public that schools serve. Objectives have generally been formulated by people in the schools on the basis of opinion or intuition. A good case can be made for the argument that a public will not and should not accept this any longer. Downey (1960,

p. 4) has stated, "The most important contemporary determiner of the task of education is the opinion of the public that the educational enterprise serves. The most confusion exists at this level."

The purpose of this study was to determine which objectives for junior high school mathematics were considered most important by: a group of professors of education together with some secondary school mathematics supervisors; a sample of junior high school mathematics teachers selected from rural schools; a random sample of grade nine students in the same rural schools; and a random sample of parents of those students.[1] Prior to the initiation of the project, it was believed that the junior high school mathematics program was being pulled in many different directions by the various groups involved with junior high schools. This study was conducted to determine whether that belief was true or not.

The objectives were not stated at the instructional level. They were written in broader language, calling for value judgments from the respondents. The objectives used were obtained from an exhaustive search of the related literature. The authors believed that every conceivable objective was represented in the final selection.

Overview

Teachers, parents, students, and professors of education with mathematics supervisors ranked fifteen objectives from one to fifteen in order of their perceived importance. To aid respondents' understanding of the objectives, each objective was explained further with an example. The resulting rankings were analyzed to determine within and between-group differences.

Procedure

Setting

This study was conducted in three rural counties of Alberta. The socioeconomic level would be uniform throughout this area—neither high nor low.

The Objectives

The following fifteen objectives for junior high school mathematics were obtained from an exhaustive search of the literature. The respondents were instructed to order the objectives from one to fifteen in order of importance.

1. To be able to add, subtract, multiply, divide and to solve equations correctly in arithmetic and algebra.
2. To develop an understanding of the mathematical concepts from arithmetic, algebra and geometry, e.g., area, volume, perimeter, congruence, similarity, etc.
3. To acquire the process skills required in obtaining mathematical knowledge, e.g., methods of reading, finding information, the way of thinking, and using the knowledge.
4. To develop systematic methods of analyzing problems and presenting their solutions.
5. To develop a student's confidence in his analytic powers and problem solving abilities.

6. To develop mathematical skills used in daily living, i.e., be able to use mathematics in business and personal finance, e.g., insurance, taxes, discount, etc.
7. To develop an understanding of the significance of mathematics in science and technology.
8. To understand the interaction between mathematics and the physical world, e.g., how man controls his environment.
9. To develop an understanding of the structure of mathematics. This is understanding how mathematical knowledge is related, e.g., all number systems have certain common structural properties, e.g., the commutative property: $4 \times 3 = 3 \times 4$.
10. To develop an appreciation of mathematics in the world around us: beauty in art; nature; architecture; in form; balance; regularity of patterns; symmetry; etc.
11. To be able to apply mathematical reasoning to social and personal problems and to reach conclusions based on facts.
12. To understand that mathematics is a human activity (invented by man) and its history is marked by inventions, discoveries, guesses and mistakes.
13. To develop inventiveness (creativity). Students should be given problems for which they must "invent" a method of solving, e.g., find the diameter of the earth.
14. To understand that mathematical words have exact meanings and to realize how mathematical symbolism makes problem solving easier.
15. To foster enjoyment of mathematics.

Teacher Data

The objectives questionnaires were distributed to 39 junior high school teachers of mathematics in the three rural counties. This represented the entire population of such teachers. Of the 39 questionnaires distributed, 34 (87.18%) were returned.

Student Data

Questionnaires were distributed to a random selection of ten grade nine students from each of the grade nine classes in the three counties. In all, 420 questionnaires were distributed. Of these, 338 (80.50%) were returned. For computational ease, random samples, stratified by sex, were selected from the 338 returned questionnaires.

Parent Data

Questionnaires were distributed to a random selection of parents of ten grade nine students from each class in the three counties. This made a total of 420 questionnaires distributed to parents. Of these, 242 (57.62%) were returned. For computational ease, a random sample was selected from the 242 questionnaires that were returned.

Educator Data

Nine questionnaires were distributed to mathematics educators at the University of Alberta, the University of Calgary, and the University of Lethbridge, together with secondary school mathematics supervisors in Edmonton and Calgary. The nine questionnaires distributed represented the

entire population of these educators. Of the nine questionnaires sent out, eight (88.89%) were returned.

Results

For each of the aforementioned groups, consensus rankings were obtained by summing the ranks of each objective. The smallest sum of the ranks indicated the most important objective, and the next smallest sum indicated the second most important objective, and so on. The consensus rankings are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1
CONSENSUS RANKINGS BY GROUPS

Objective	Teachers' Ranking	Students' Ranking	Parents' Ranking	Educators' Ranking
1. Fundamental processes	4	2	2	7
2. Mathematical concepts	2	4	4	2
3. Process skills	1	3	3	1
4. Problem solving	3	5	5	3.5
5. Confidence in ability	6.5	5	5	5
6. Mathematics in daily life	5	1	1	13
7. Mathematics in science and technology	10	8	10	15
8. Mathematics and the physical world	11	11	12	11
9. Structure	8	7	8	6
10. Appreciation	14	10	9	8
11. Critical thinking	6.5	9	7	14
12. Mathematics a human activity	15	14.5	15	12
13. Creativity	13	12	14	9
14. Precise language and symbolism	12	13	11	10
15. Enjoyment	9	14.5	13	3.5

N for educators = 8
N for teachers = 36
N for parents = 242
N for students= 338

The calculation of consensus rankings could mask large differences in the rankings within each group. Because of this possibility, the Kendall Coefficient of Concordance *W* was calculated for each group. For each group the probability of the obtained agreement by chance was less than .05. In other words calculation of consensus rankings was a viable technique and such rankings were representative of the group as a whole.

Secondly, pairwise comparisons of the groups were made on the rankings of specific objectives. The Mann-Whitney *U* test was used to determine significant differences on specific objectives. Each of the six possible pairs taken from the four groups showed significant differences on

at least two objectives. The results of this analysis are summarized in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1
PAIRWISE COMPARISON OF GROUPS ON SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES USING MANN-WHITNEY *U* TEST

(a) Educators and Junior High School Teachers
- Objective 6. To develop the mathematical skills used in daily living (educators 13, teachers 5, significance level 0.02).
- Objective 10. To develop appreciation of mathematics in the world around us. (educators 8, teachers 14, significance level 0.03).

(b) Junior high school teachers and parents
- Objective 1. To develop skills in the fundamental processes of algebra and arithmetic (teachers 4, parents 2, significance level 0.01).
- Objective 6. To develop the mathematical skills used in daily living (teachers 5, parents 1, significance level 0.03).
- Objective 15. To foster enjoyment of mathematics (teachers 9, parents 13, significance level 0.004).

(c) Parents and students
- Objective 3. To acquire the process skills used in mathematics (parents 4, students 4, significance level 0.03).*
- Objective 13. To develop inventiveness (creativity) (parents 14, students 12, significance level 0.04).

(d) Parents and educators
- Objective 1. To develop fundamental processes of arithmetic and algebra (parents 2, educators 7, significance level 0.02).
- Objective 6. To develop the mathematical skills used in daily life (parents 1, educators 13, significance level 0.001).
- Objective 7. To develop an understanding of mathematics in science and technology (parents 10, educators 15, significance level 0.04).
- Objective 15. To foster enjoyment of mathematics (parents 13, educators 3.5, significance level 0.008).

(e) Educators and students
- Objective 1. To develop skills in fundamental processes (educators 7, students 2, significance difference 0.02).
- Objective 6. To develop the mathematical skills used in daily living (educators 13, students 1, significance level 0.001).
- Objective 7. To develop an understanding of mathematics in science and technology (educators 15, students 8, level of significance 0.04).
- Objective 15. To foster enjoyment of mathematics (educators 3.5, students 13, significance level 0.008).

(f) Teachers and students
- Objective 2. To develop an understanding of mathematical concepts (teachers 2, students 4, significance level 0.02).
- Objective 3. To acquire the process skills of mathematics (teachers 1, students 3, significance level 0.0001).
- Objective 4. To develop systematic methods of analysing problems and presenting their solutions (teachers 3, students 5, significance level 0.01).
- Objective 7. To develop an understanding of mathematics in science and technology (teachers 10, students 8, significance level 0.04).

*The Mann-Whitney Test is sensitive to differences in distributions which includes more than simply the mean. This would explain the difference on Objective 3 for parents and students, for instance.

Thirdly, the Contingency Coefficient *C* was computed to determine the degree of association between the groups and the rankings. The chi-square which is computed in the course of computing the value of *C* provides

an adequate indication of the significance of C (Siegel, 1956, p. 199). The results are summarized in Table 2.

TABLE 2
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENTS FOR EDUCATORS, TEACHERS, STUDENTS, AND PARENTS

Objectives	χ^2	C	Level of Significance
1	12.07	.14	0.01
2	7.02	.11	0.08
3	6.61	.10	0.07
4	8.00	.11	0.05
5	16.70	.16	0.001
6	24.41	.23	0.001
7	5.29	.09	0.15
8	3.56	.07	0.30
9	1.61	.05	0.60
10	4.90	.09	0.20
11	3.75	.07	0.30
12	8.60	.11	0.03
13	.78	.001	0.85
14	2.50	.004	0.45
15	9.93	.13	0.02

N for educators = 8 *N* for students = 338
N for teachers == 34 *N* for parents = 242 df = 3

As can be observed in the above table, there is a significant level of association ($p \leqslant .05$) on six of the fifteen objectives.

Implications

The perceptions of the objectives by the groups of students, parents, and teachers were very similar. Teachers, parents, and students chose the same six objectives as most important. In fact, parents and students ranked them in exactly the same order.

The sample size for the group of educators was admittedly small. However the results that were obtained seemed to indicate a lack of agreement between the group of educators and the other groups.

Parents and students indicated that the most important content of the mathematics course should comprise fundamental skills used in daily life. Educators and teachers indicated that those process skills of mathematics which enable a student to work on his own were most important.

Structural properties, an important feature of "new math," were not considered to be as important as "practical" skills by teachers, parents, and students. On the other hand, the group of educators had these objectives ranked in the opposite order.

In summary, students and parents seemed quite similar in their perceptions of the objectives. Professional educators were appreciably different in their views. Junior high school teachers were somewhere in between but probably closer to the students and parents than to the educators.

In retrospect, the procedure used in this study seems potentially useful. With regard to the objectives it seems that substantive evidence has been introduced in an area where opinion, bias, intuitive notions, etc., has generally ruled the day.

[1] The work herein described was completed by Ella Freeman as partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Master of Education degree from the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada.

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Transitional Analysis of Adult Learners' Needs

Reacting against indiscriminant adherence to the conventional 'needs approach' in adult education, the present paper proposes and tests a model which first of all locates factors governing perceived transition of learners' needs and secondly charts various possible effects of the teaching-learning process upon individual learners in degree of perceived change. Based on the data of 71 adult learners attending various courses in several professional programs, the study found that among the factors that had bearing upon perceived change, lecture and satisfaction with courses and instructors were the most important single factors. General satisfaction as well as formal interpersonal process were significant dimensions in bringing about changes. The four groups of learners identified in terms of initial needs and degrees of transformation varied to some extent in their receptivity to formal interpersonal process and performance but did not exhibit differences in other dimensions. (Dr. Lam is Assistant Professor of Education at Brandon University.)

Developed and nurtured by the "child-centred" school, the "needs approach" has become a prevailing strategy for curriculum planning in education in general, and adult education in particular. Most adult educators today echo the importance of tailoring curriculum content and materials to the needs of adult learners. There is, indeed, much research evidence to support this assertion. McLoughlin (1971) reported significant differences in attitude scores in favour of groups that shared in the decision on course content and design. Londoner's study (1972) showed that students' goals and expectations needed to be met to reduce dropout rates. Zahn (1969) stressed that "impairment" of learning ability or distortion of pertinent information occurs when knowledge conflicts with strong present needs.

While the validity of this approach is probably beyond question, more voices are being raised against gross generalization and indiscriminant employment of the doctrine of interests and needs in adult education. Griffin (1973), for instance, by raising three tricky issues underlying need assessment techniques, called for a more careful scrutiny of educators' professional actions and of the ideological instances basic to them.

Williams (1971) urged adult educators to be aware of the intricate relationships between individual learners' needs and factors of the complex society.

Concerns for sweeping compliance to the predominant mode of thought probably originate from the fear that the pendulum might swing to another extreme such that educators may eventually abdicate the role of program planning to learners. Ambiguity and misuse of the "needs approach" as witnessed in some cases necessitate a more in-depth analysis of the concept of need, a topic well discussed by Atwood and Ellis (1971). In their paper, a careful distinction was made among the prescriptive, motivational and specialized uses of the term. Of great practical implication to adult learners in program development and delivery are recognition of basic differences between two subcategories of needs, i.e., real educational needs and felt symptomatic needs. Identical in some cases, they serve mostly different purposes. Appropriateness of selection and employment of either of these in program organization are contingent upon the nature and types of courses involved. To be more specific, in developing programs that prepare adult learners for professional careers, needs which prescribe a desirable state of affairs in terms of adequate knowledge, attitudes or skills, needs which identify deficiency of individuals in relation to the societal demands and go beyond affective symptoms of learners must be carefully consulted. On the other hand, design of recreational, life-enrichment, non-profession oriented courses should fall heavily on reference to the felt, symptomatic needs expressed by the mature participants. Inaccurate assessment and selection will spell disaster to the program developed.

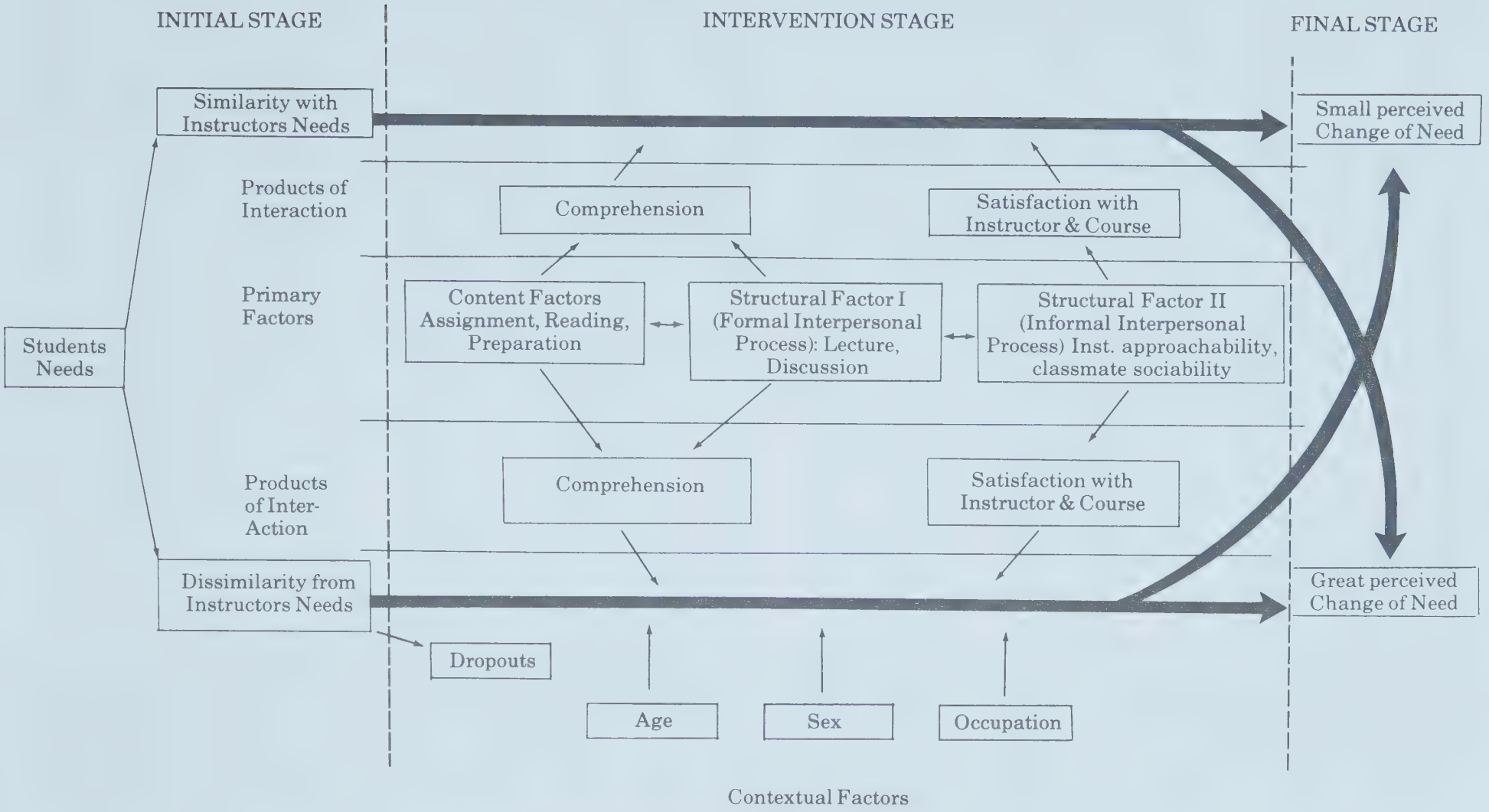
A second conventional fallacy associated with the "needs approach" entrenches a stagnant viewpoint of learners' needs. Operating on the assumption of the importance of and permanence of initial needs, many practitioners are inclined to believe that such needs should become the cornerstone upon which the entire course or program structure is constructed. Increasing evidence is documented to show that learners' needs are far from being fixed. In assessing the impact of content and structural factors upon attendance regularity of adult learners, Lam and Wong (1974) detected and raised the question of possibility of need transformation on the part of the learners. Atwood and Ellis (1971) also stressed that "diagnosing needs is a continuous concern, not a one-shot effort."

A third inherent weakness related to the use of initial needs of adults in program planning arises from the observation that adults are not precise in stating their expectations and needs (Burgess, 1971). To anchor program planning on imprecise and ambiguous statements of needs runs the danger of misinterpretation, misjudgment and miscalculation.

Theoretical Framework

By pinpointing some inherent difficulties related to the "needs approach" in general, the present paper specifically attempts to propose and examine a theoretical model dissecting the nature and charting the changes of one type of needs, i.e., real educational needs of adult learners enrolled in professional courses over a span of time. This model is diagrammatically expressed in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1
A DYNAMIC MODEL OF ADULT LEARNERS' NEEDS



Needs are described by Atwood and Ellis (1971) as follows:

(a) they must be required or necessary for a desired state of affairs;
(b) they must be lacking, absent or deficient;
(c) they must carry a legitimate claim about which something ought to be done;
(d) they must be capable of being satisfied by means of a learning experience which can provide appropriate knowledge, attitudes, or skills.

Based on these characteristics of real educational needs, it is hypothesized here that not *all* adult learners at the time of taking professional courses are aware of their "real educational needs." Many may in fact hold what are, by nature, felt symptomatic needs. On the other hand, the instructors of these courses, having had themselves a full earlier exposure of knowledge, attitudes, or skills that constitute the ingredients of the professional preparation and having had wider contact with the field and closer approximation of societal demands, do come to the planning stage of programs with precise conceptions that aspire to fulfil real educational needs. From the viewpoint of instructors' needs and expectations, there are two categories of adult learners at the beginning of course work, i.e., one that shares a similar set of needs and expectations of the courses with the instructors and another, the greater majority, which entertains a vastly different set of needs and expectations compared with those of the instructors.

At the termination of courses, four possible groups of adult learners, characterized in terms of their initial needs and perceived change, will emerge. The first group are those who share a similar set of needs and expectations with the instructors and perceive no changes in the needs and expectations at the end of the courses. Apparently, the teaching-learning process which this group has gone through merely consolidates what they initially expected to get from the course.

The second group are those who at the outset share a similar set of needs and expectations with the instructor but who report great changes of their initial needs and expectations at this terminal stage. This is possibly due to the fact that exposure to the teaching-learning process assists them in redefining real educational needs which they first vaguely conceived so that the reported changes actually pertain to variation of needs in degree, rather than in scope.

The third group are those who entertain a set of needs and expectations quite dissimilar from those of the instructors but report little perceived changes of these needs and expectations at the end of the courses. Such a group represents those who are least affected by the teaching-learning process. Some of them will have dropped out from the course at the beginning stage. The perseverance of those who remain hinges on factors external to the course or program. They might seek future global and tangible goals which may, but often may not, be related to the specific courses taken at this stage of their career.

The fourth group are those who entertain needs and expectations quite dissimilar from those of the instructors but report great changes and

modification of their needs at the end of the course. Evidently, this is a group who start with vague or perhaps unrealistic needs as they are unaware of appropriate knowledge, attitudes and skills that entail such a program or course of professional preparation. Having the exposure of a period of classroom interactions, they begin to develop a more accurate set of educational needs and expectations markedly different from earlier ones.

In tracing mechanisms that are conducive to the conceived degree of need and expectation changes and transformation of adult learners, the model further postulates two factors, comprehension and satisfaction, as primarily responsible. It is also expected that the affective conditions of learners will have strong bearing on the degree of perceived changes expressed by learners. While leading to the same type of overt behavior (expression of need and expectation changes), understanding is basically different from satisfaction in that the former reflects the intellectual growth of learners resultant from the learning experience, while the latter registers learners' affective responses to the learning experiences, which could be quite independent of the former factor.

Important as comprehension and satisfaction are to perceived changes of needs, they are conceived as secondary factors from a more fundamental set of elements embedded in the teaching-learning process. In identifying these fundamental elements, the models resort to a modified version of the paradigm developed conceptually by Bergevin, McKinley and Smith (1964) and operationally by Lam and Wong (1974). In their framework content and structure are the two basic components of the classroom process. It is stipulated that comprehension is the end-product of (i) content factors, measured in terms of curriculum input in the course such as reading materials of all types, assignments, adequacy of instructors' preparation, and (ii) formal interpersonal process, conceptually a component of structure, which is operationally assessed in terms of the contribution of such instructional methods as lecture and discussions. Satisfaction with the courses and instructors are conceived to be derived from another component of structure, i.e., informal interaction process, measured by the perceived approachability of instructors and sociability of classmates.

Statement of the Problems

To test this transitional model of perceived changes in needs and expectations of adult learners, four specific questions for governing empirical investigation are raised:

(1) What are the characteristics of the initial needs and expectations of adult learners when first enrolled in the courses?

(2) How are background factors, classroom factors and perceived changes in needs and expectations related to one another?

(3) Which are crucial factors accounting for perceived changes of needs and expectations?

(4) How do the four types of learners identified by the model differ in terms of content factors, formal interpersonal factors, informal interpersonal factors, degree of satisfaction with courses and instructors, and course performance?

Methodology

Sample

Seventy-one adult learners attending five professional courses offered by two instructors at Brandon University were selected for the present study. These five courses were representative of several programs for upgrading educational practitioners in the field as well as for preparing the final year university students for teaching careers. Thus participants of these courses varied considerably in their backgrounds: some were university students; some were teachers, teacher-aides, or guidance counsellors, and others were principals or vice-principals.

Data Collection Procedures

When first enrolled in the five courses in September, 1974, students were asked to write down their needs and expectations. The two instructors involved were asked to rate these needs and expectations by two scales in order to detect degree of specificity and amount of discrepancy between the learners and instructors in terms of their expressed needs and expectations. In the case of specificity, rating of each student was done separately by both instructors so that inter-rater reliability could be assessed. In January, 1975, when the courses came to an end, students were asked to respond to a questionnaire soliciting information regarding their background, their perceived changes in needs and expectations of the courses, and various aspects of classroom interactions. Items pertaining to content and structural factors basically resembled those developed in the previous study (Lam & Wong, 1974). Students' overall grades were consulted as indicators of their performance in the courses. Reliability of the instrument developed was detected by inter-item coefficients between one key item and a number of items measuring content and structural factors. Values of internal consistency were found to range from .54 to .68.

Findings and Discussion

Nature of Learners' Initial Needs and Expectations

It was found that 43 (over 61%) of the sample subjects were rated unspecific compared with 9 (12%) who were considered moderately specific, and 19 (27%) whose needs and expectations were viewed to be quite specific. Inter-rater reliability in this aspect was significantly high (.679) suggesting a high degree of consistency of judgment of the instructors concerned. An apparent conclusion drawn at this stage would be similar to Burgess' gross observation (1971) that adults were in most cases incapable of phrasing precisely what they expect from the courses. Correlational analysis of learners' backgrounds and need specificity (Table 1) shed additional inter-rating findings in this area. That age was negatively related to degree of need specificity (-.28, $p < .02$) suggested that precision of need statements decreases as learners are older. That sex was significantly associated with need specificity (.26, $p < .05$) revealed that female learners possess greater ability of making their expectations concrete. That occupation should be negatively related with need specificity (.26, $p < .05$) indicated that teachers and other school personnel were more aware of the nature of professional courses. In fact, the amount of knowledge regarding what

TABLE 1
CORRELATIONAL ANALYSIS OF ALL VARIABLES

	Sex	Occupation	Exp. Spec.	Exp. Discr.	Assignment	Reading	Preparation	Discussion	Lectures	App. of In.	Soc. of Cl.	Satisf. In.	Satisf. Cl.	Performance	Change
Age	.10	-.17	-.28*	-.29	.24	.21	.29*	.17	.23	.34	.19	.38	.15	-.05	.14
Sex		.56**	.26	.47**	.31**	.37**	.38**	.25	.47**	.09	.33**	.17	.36**	.42**	.23
Occupation			-.26	-.37**	.31**	.31**	.26	.33**	.35**	.12	.20	.15	.21	-.41**	.23
Exp. Spec.				.85**	.13	.17	.16	.06	.05	-.02	.25	-.01	.27	.36**	.20
Exp. Discr.					.12	.22	.14	.15	.07	-.08	.34**	-.05	.22**	.39**	.24
Assignment						.62**	.74**	.59**	.66**	.54**	.56**	.64**	.69**	.55**	.21
Reading							.73**	.60**	.64**	.62**	.58**	.60**	.53**	.48**	.27
Preparation								.71**	.82**	.75**	.70**	.75**	.73**	.56**	.39**
Discussion									.71**	.55**	.58**	.64**	.53**	.55**	.44**
Lectures										.63**	.58**	.68**	.69**	.61**	.49*
App. of In.											.56**	.86**	.54**	.43**	.37**
Soc. of Cl.												.61**	.55**	.66**	.25
Satisf. In.													.66**	.45**	.41**
Satisf. Cl.														.48**	.24
Performance															.21

— significant at 0.05
* significant at 0.02
** significant at 0.01

professional courses entail very often determines the amount of specificity in the spelling out of initial needs.

In terms of the extent of initial need discrepancies between learners and instructors, it was found that a high proportion of participants (58%) were rated as having needs very dissimilar from those of the instructors. Of the remaining sample, 15% (11 participants) were rated as having a set of somewhat similar expectations, while 27% (19 students) were considered sharing expectations close to those of the instructors. The highly significant coefficient between degree of need specificity and the extend of need discrepancies (.85, $p < .01$) (Table 1) strongly suggested that instructors' judgment of the distance between learners' felt needs and the ingredients to be incorporated into the professional courses, was influenced by learners' precision of describing their needs. It is not surprising then to find that correlational analyses on age, sex, occupation with need discrepancies yielded an identical pattern detected in the foregoing case dealing with need specificity.

Inter-relationships among Background Factors, Classroom Factors, Performance and Perceived Changes of Needs

Table 1 summarized the correlational analysis of all variables involved in the study. Examining first of all the background factors, age, sex, and occupation, it was found that older female participants whose occupation was identified as students tended to perceive more favourably the degree of instructors' preparations. Female student participants irrespective of age were more inclined to feel that they benefited a great deal from lectures and discussions. In addition, female participants were more inclined to find their classmates sociable and to develop a higher degree of satisfaction with the course. Better performance was also found among female school personnel.

In terms of perceived changes of needs and expectations at the end of the courses, it was found that female student learners expressed a significantly greater degree of change than other groups. Age turned out to be unrelated to perceived change. Additional chi-square analysis of learners by courses in which they enrolled indicated that the kind of courses did not make any significant differences in perceived need changes ($\chi^2 = 13.26$, $df = 12$).

References to inter-correlation coefficients among content factors (reading materials, assignment, preparation of instructors), structural factors, conceived to include formal interpersonal process (lectures and discussions) and informal interpersonal process (approachability of instructors and sociability of classmates) revealed a pattern of close relationships among all these factors which reaffirmed intimate associations between content and structure reported in the earlier study (Lam & Wong, 1974). Each of these factors, in addition, was found to bear significant relationship with their overall performance in the courses.

In terms of perceived changes of needs and expectations, it was found that other than two factors, assignment and performance, all content and structural variables attained significant relationships with perceived need changes. That assignments and overall performance should be independent

of perceived changes could imply that perceived need changes could be brought about without demonstration of real understanding as measured by assignments and overall performance of courses. This should be borne in mind when examining the latter part of the analysis.

Crucial Factors Affecting Perceived Changes of Needs

Which are the most important variables accounting for such a change in perceived needs? What dimensions—background factors, content factors, formal interpersonal factors and informal interpersonal factors—contribute most to our understanding of learners' perceived change of needs and expectations?

TABLE 2
STEPWISE MULTIPLE LINEAR REPRESSION ANALYSIS DENOTING THE RELATIVE CONTRIBUTION OF INDIVIDUAL VARIABLE TO THE ULTIMATE PERCEIVED CHANGE OF NEEDS

Variable	R^2	df_1	df_2	F
Lectures	.2422	1	69	7.107**
Satisfaction with Course	.2909	2	68	3.525*
Satisfaction with Instructor	.3264	3	67	3.762*
Assignment	.3410	4	66	0.644
Discussion	.3533	5	65	1.907
Performance	.3607	7	63	0.770
Occupation	.3661	8	62	0.165
Reading	.3707	9	61	0.620
Preparation	.3725	10	60	0.178
Sex	.3738	11	59	0.183
Age	.3749	12	58	0.102
Sociability	.3751	13	57	0.013

* significant at 0.05

** significant at 0.01

Stepwise multiple linear regression analysis (Table 2) indicated that lecture was the single most pertinent factor that explains learners' perceived changes in needs and expectations, followed by satisfaction with courses and satisfaction with instructors. Apparently, the lecture as a mechanism accounts for the greatest amount of course input that enhances learners' understanding of the content of courses. This may, in turn, transform the ambiguous felt needs into more precise educational needs. In another dimension, positive affective responses to the way courses are organized and to instructors as individuals also contribute to the resultant changes of learners' perceptions of their needs and expectations.

In assessing dimensional impact upon perceived changes of needs and expectations through multiple correlation analysis (Table 3), it was found that satisfaction and formal interpersonal process are significant aspects explaining changes of perceived needs; content and informal interpersonal

TABLE 3
MULTIPLE CORRELATION ANALYSIS SHOWING RELATIVE EFFECTS OF DIMENSIONS UPON PERCEIVED CHANGE OF NEEDS

Dimensions	R	R2	df_1	df_2	F^4
Satisfaction	.424	.180	2	68	7.4649**
Structural Factors	.398	.158	4	66	3.1102*
Content Factors	.200	.040	4	66	0.6875
Background Factors	.063	.004	3	67	0.0896

F ratios calculated to detect if the observed multiple correlation coefficient is significantly different from zero. (Refer to G. A. Ferguson, Statistical Analysis in Psychology and Education. 3rd ed. McGraw-Hill, Toronto, 1971, p. 401.

process on the other hand do not attribute much to the alteration of perception of need change. Evidently, dimensional analysis tends to reinforce the relative effects of individual factors previously noted rather than shedding additional light upon the impact of conceptually homogeneous blocks of variables on learners' perceived change of needs.

Variations of Four Identified Types of Learners in Content Structural Factors, Satisfaction and Performance

In transposing the proposed theoretical model of four possible groups of learners in terms of the degrees of initial need discrepancy and of ultimate perceived change of expectations, it was found that 15 learners (22% of the sample) were in group I (i.e., similar initial needs/small perceived change); 10 belonged to group II (similar initial needs/great perceived change); 13 learners (19%) were in group III (dissimilar initial needs/small perceived change) and 28 learners were in group IV (dissimilar initial needs/great perceived change).

Based on the composite scores of content, structural factor, satisfaction and performance, multiple group comparisons were carried out by t-tests.

With respect to content factors, all the t-tests detecting intergroup differences turned out to be insignificant; with respect to the first set of structural factors, i.e., the formal interaction process, it was found that group IV was significantly different from group III ($t = 2.133$, $p > .05$). With respect to the second set of structural factors and satisfaction level, all the t-tests did not yield statistical difference. With respect to overall performance (Grades), it was found that group I was significantly different from group III ($t = 2.348$, $p > .05$) and from group IV ($t = 2.620$, $p > .02$). This implies that the group that shared similar initial needs with the instructors and perceived small ultimate changes of expectation performed far better than groups that had initial needs greatly dissimilar from those of instructors but experienced little change of needs, as well as the group that was identified as having needs greatly different from instructors and admitted great change of ultimate needs.

While the difference between group I and group III is to be expected, as the latter apparently benefit least by the interaction process, the difference between group I and IV deserves close scrutiny. Reference to the previous

TABLE 4
MULTIPLE COMPARISONS OF FOUR GROUPS OF ADULT LEARNERS IN VARIOUS DIMENSIONS (t-tests)

Dimensions	Groups Compared					
	I/II (N=25)	I/III (N=28)	I/IV (N=43)	II/III (N=23)	II/IV (N=38)	III/IV (N=41)
Content	2.056	.653	1.871	.978	- .286	.897
Structural Factor I (Formal Interpersonal Process)	- .4668	.499	- .747	1.551	- .050	-2.133*
Structural Factor II (Informal Interpersonal Process)	1.254	.197	- .041	- .755	-1.027	- .213
Satisfaction	.889	- .455	- .202	-1.020	-1.195	.375
Performance	1.028	2.348*	2.620**	1.111	1.110	- .355

* significant at 0.05
** significant at 0.02

analysis indicated that assignments were not related to perceived changes and that occupation was inversely related to performance (i.e., participants who were currently teachers, administrators and other school personnel performed better than final year university students). This emphasizes that demands from these professional courses were pragmatic in nature and those in the field were more capable of transferring their practical experience to meet course requirements.

The Proposed Theoretical Model of Adult Learners' Needs

By patching up findings which answer the four questions raised in the study, it is found that the initial model remains more or less intact though specific relationships among factors and specific weights assigned to each of these factors demand some degree of revision:

First of all, satisfaction with the course and instructors is derived from the entire classroom process of interaction rather than the informal contact between instructors and learners, and among classmates.

Secondly, it is satisfaction rather than comprehension which as a dimension accounts to a larger extent for the perceived changes of learners' needs and expectations.

Following the previous point, perceived changes of needs and expectations do not correspond proportionally to increased absorption or comprehension of course materials.

Summary and Conclusion

By locating three possible fallacies associated with the conventional "needs approach" of program planning for adult learners, the present paper proposes a theoretical model that accounts for a possible evolution of real educational needs of learners and identifies varying impacts of the process upon learners' perceived need changes. Examination of adult

learners' initial needs reveals that most are neither specific nor close to those of instructors, though it does not rule out the possibility that some are capable of defining what approximates the real educational needs. A practical implication for adult educators here is that reference to the backgrounds of adult learners is useful in identifying participants who need extra help in developing a more realistic set of expectations. In other words, rather than abandoning the responsibility of defining needs to the learners in planning professional courses, adult educators should assume the initiative in identifying the accurate expectations for the learners.

Though background, content and structural factors through their relationships with comprehension or with satisfaction level all seemed to have a bearing upon differences in modification of initial needs, it is the formal interpersonal process, i.e., lectures, satisfaction with courses and with instructors, that are most crucial in bringing about perceived need changes.

Thus the initial stage of identifying and developing learners' real educational needs should be followed by a period of careful organization and presentation of materials to maintain the interests of learners within the defined curriculum.

The four types of learners identified through the professed impacts of the process upon their needs exhibit some variations in their reaction to the formal interpersonal process and in their overall performance. The group that underwent a tremendous change of needs was evidently more responsive to the formal mechanism of knowledge, skill and attitude transmission than the one that indicated the least changes in perceived needs, while the group that embraced the most accurate educational needs was superior in performance to all others. To the educators, therefore, assessment of the learning outcome should not depend exclusively upon attitudinal feedbacks from the learners, as is usually the case in adult courses, but it should be based upon objective criterion measuring the cognitive intakes as well.

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An In-service Course for Instructors at the University of Alberta, an Evaluation

About 60 instructors from various faculties within the University of Alberta attended an in-service course over six weeks for two hours per week. The topics covered were instructional objectives, task analysis, performance assessment, basic variables in learning, audiovisual media and computer assisted instruction. Comparison of pre- and post-test scores indicated significant learning in these areas resulting from the course. A follow-up questionnaire indicated a strongly positive response to the course and the proposal to establish a permanent center to promote better teaching within the University. (Dr. Osborne is Associate Professor in the Department of Educational Psychology, The University of Alberta.)

The primary purposes of this project were to (a) determine the extent of faculty interest in learning more about instructional techniques and (b) to begin to provide a service to cater to this end. Recent reports from University committees and individual faculty suggested an awareness of a need for such a service. This course included the collection of certain data intended to provide a clearer picture of whether the establishment of a permanent agency to facilitate teaching and instructional research at the University of Alberta would be worthwhile step.

This in-service course was run as a six week workshop with two sessions per week on each of the following topics: Instructional Objectives, Task Analysis, Performance Assessment, Basic Variables in Learning, Audio-Visual Media (AV), Computer Assisted Instruction (CAI).

The course was offered in three sections during January and February, 1975. Each of these six areas was taught by a separate instructor from within the Faculty of Education. The theoretical basis for the course was the basic model of Glaser (1962). The idea was to concentrate upon the basic components of the instructional situation to provide a conceptual understanding and then to deal with some of the available techniques in those component areas.

Method

Approximately one hundred faculty across the university expressed interest in the course. About sixty instructors subsequently enrolled in one of the three sections of the course. An entering behavior test and a pre-test were administered to all participants. The mean total teaching experience was eight years of which the majority was spent in a university setting. There was a very low level of prior instructional training. A strong majority favored a structured approach to teaching. The majority also viewed teaching as a "relatively difficult" activity. These data along with voluntary participation suggested a receptive audience for the course and justified the fairly basic approach. Course instructors contributed five short objective type items to the pre-test.

Each instructor re-administered those items relevant to his topic at the conclusion of his two-class session. The pre-test scores were generally quite low in all topic areas. Participants were also given sample "between course" and "within course" (cf. Smock & Crooks, 1973) course evaluations and were encouraged to gather data about their own teaching. At the end of the course, participants completed a questionnaire which evaluated the project.

Results

Pre- and Post-Test Scores

The mean pre- and post-test scores for the various topic units of the course are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1
PRE- AND POST-TEST MEANS FOR TOPIC AREAS

Topic	Sample Size	Pre-Test	Post-Test
Instructional Objectives	36	26	87
Task Analysis	27	0	22
Performance Assessment	29	45	73
Basic Variables in Learning	18	39	72
Audio Visual Media	21	44	75
Computer Assisted Instruction	13	6	83

Note: All increases from pre- to post-test were statistically significant ($p < .001$).

Significant post-test increases occurred for all topics. However, the level of performance in the area of task analysis was rather low. This area may have been too difficult to deal with in a short course.

Follow-Up Questionnaire

1. Following completion of the course, a questionnaire was sent to all participants. Forty-three participants returned their qeustionnaires. Table 2 shows the percentage attendance for the various topics and sessions.
2. Answers to question two ("Which topics did you find interesting or relevant to your teaching situation?") emerged: Instructional Objectives, 84%; Task Analysis, 30%; Performance Assessment, 67%; Basic Variables in

TABLE 2
PERCENT SESSION ATTENDANCE

Topic	Session	
	I	II
Instructional Objectives	67	88
Task Analysis	67	67
Performance Assessment	90	60
Basic Variables in Learning	63	44
Audio Visual Media	60	60
Computer Assisted Instruction	50	35

N = 43

Learning, 30%; Audio-Visual Media, 53%; Computer Assisted Instruction, 32%.

3. Responses to question three ("Which topic sessions gave you something you could use in your teaching?") were: Instructional Objectives, 72%; Task Analysis, 35%; Performance Assessment, 58%; Basic Variables in Learning, 30%; Audio-Visual Media, 49%; Computer-Assisted Instruction, 28%. It should be noted that some of the responses on the questionnaire concerning the benefit derived from various topics were to some extent an artifact of attendance; for example, the low utility of computer assisted instruction registered on item three of the questionnaire. Some people "skipped" this topic because they thought it too unrealistic or visionary. In this regard, attendance was influenced by prevailing prejudices.
4. Responses to question four ("Briefly list any changes or modifications you have made or intend to make in your teaching") fell into the following categories:
   (a) Initiated revision of own objectives 58%
   (b) Improved assessment procedures 30%
   (c) Increased use of AV 21%
   (d) Thinking about AV or changing approach 4%
   (e) More sensitive to student needs 6%
   (f) Development of personal ability and attitude 4%
   (g) Intending to use CAI 2%
   (h) Intending to use task analysis 4%
5. Those having some difficulty in understanding particular topics broke down: Instructional Objectives, 4%; Task Analysis, 47%; Performance Assessment, 4%; Basic Variables in Learning, 16%; Audio-Visual Media, 0%; Computer Assisted Instruction, 0%.
6. Topic areas where further help was requested were: Instructional Objectives, 18%; Task Analysis, 11%; Performance Assessment, 25%; Basic Variables in Learning, 9%; Audio-Visual Media, 23%; Computer Assisted Instruction, 21%.
7. Responses to question seven ("Would you attend future in-service

courses?") were: Yes, 56%; Probably Not, 3%; Definitely Not, 6%; Conditional Yes ("Depends"), 35%.

8. Thirty percent of the respondents indicated a desire for consulting help with general instructional problems, while 18% asked for help in particular instructional areas.
9. Eighteen percent of the respondents preferred a survey type course while 72% asked for increased specialization in fewer areas.
10. Responses to question twelve ("Do you believe that this course has helped you with your teaching?") were: yes, 56%; "very beneficial", 7%; "moderate benefit", 7%; "small benefit", 7%; "of questionable use", 5%; "no benefit", 5%.
11. Eighty-one percent of the respondents favoured the establishment of a "permanent center within the university to promote better teaching." Seven percent did not favour such a move, while 7% approved with reservations and 2% thought it "questionable."

The pre- and post-test data together with responses referred to above (7, 10, 11) suggest that the project was successful. Ninety-one percent of the respondents said they would attend a future course (some conditionally). This indicates that there is a substantial base of interest in in-service instructional education which was reinforced by this course. Only six percent expressed no further interest.

Only twelve percent of the respondents did not favour the establishment of a permanent centre within the university to promote better teaching-learning. Only nine percent of the participants thought the course was not worthwhile. The above evidence supports the claim that the project was generally successful and that further developments are warranted.

The areas of instructional objectives and performance assessment emerged as the most relevant and resulted in the highest amounts of intended change in instructional techniques. A majority of participants preferred to see more specialization in fewer instructional areas in future. Other topics relevant to teaching but not covered in the course were not requested with great frequency, tending to justify the choice of topic areas for the present course. There was no strong desire to drop any area (except, perhaps, task analysis) from the topics chosen.

The time of year during which the course was held appears to be the most popular one. There was a slight preference for workshops with colleagues in other teaching areas and for workshops over shorter time periods.

The problems of attendance and time constraints were the major difficulties of the course. This could be largely eliminated with a course which runs over several days and where the University offers incentives to those who attend. Several participants commented upon the view that the devotion of much energy to improving their teaching was highly likely to go unrewarded in terms of salary and promotions.

This project clearly indicated an interest by a substantial number of faculty in improving their teaching at the University of Alberta. Data suggest that the course was successful in terms of learning outcomes and

as a pilot for more elaborate later developments such as a permanent center for instructional development.

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The Quantification of Individual Student Verbalization in a Second Language Classroom

The purpose of this study was to examine student verbal behavior in somewhat greater detail than is possible with Flanders System of Interaction Analysis (FSIA). This resulted in the development of the Preliminary L2 System (L2P) which is basically a modification and extension of FSIA and is specifically designed to describe verbal interaction in second language classrooms. The L2P provides information about the nature and extent of individual student verbal participation. Such monitoring of individual student verbalization is possible by means of a positional seating scheme which permits observations to be treated statistically as frequency data for individuals.

One grade eleven French class of twenty-seven students using Voix et Images de France *was coded using the L2P for approximately one-half hour daily for four consecutive days at times when students were engaged in oral work.*

For purposes of analysis, the data were grouped by student sex and achievement (term French grade). Students whose grades were above the class mean of 73 per cent were designated as high achievers (HA, N=14) and those below the mean as low achievers (LA, N=13). No sex difference in achievement was apparent.

For the four observation instances combined, it was found that boys participated proportionately more extensively than did girls (0.55 vs 0.45) in the classroom verbal interaction. HA verbalized more than LA (0.60 vs. 0.40) and used a greater proportion of divergent verbal behavior (behavior encompassing a wide variety of both solicited and self-initiated open-ended verbalization) than did LA (0.56 vs. 0.36). LA displayed a higher proportion of convergent verbalization (specific solicited responses) than did HA (0.64 vs. 0.44). It was also found that the teacher praised the answers of HA more extensively (0.66 vs. 0.34) than those of LA, used their ideas more frequently (0.72 vs. 0.28), and gave them more overall feedback (0.60 vs. 0.40).

The results established the feasibility and utility of the L2P as a source of detailed information about the nature of teacher-student dyadic interaction in second language classrooms. (Ms. McEwen is a graduate student in the Department of Secondary Education, The University of Alberta.)

This report presents the preliminary development and field-testing of an observational system designed specifically to describe teacher-student dyadic interaction in second language instructional settings. The system differs from its parent, the Flanders System of Interaction Analysis (Flanders, 1970) in that it provides more detailed specification of student talk and identifies the verbal participation of individual students. Thus relationships between teacher instructional strategies and individual and group differences among students can be examined with greater precision than is possible by means of data based on the total class as the unit of analysis. The purpose of this report is to describe the observation system and its development, to present the results of the field test, and to discuss the implications of the field trial for revision and expansion of the system.

Related Research

Research in second language instruction by means of classroom verbal interaction observational systems has been limited to describing what is observed to occur in selected classrooms or to training teachers in a given system and observing resultant changes in teacher verbal behavior (Maurice, 1968; Moskowitz, 1968; Gagnon, 1969; Wragg, 1970; Nearhoof, 1971; McEwen, 1972). Each of these studies used the class as the unit of analysis.

A change in research design from the class to the individual as the unit of analysis appears appropriate conceptually and is more powerful statistically than are group-based methods for purposes of description and evaluation of the function of specific teacher behaviors in relation to student learning outcomes (Brophy & Good, 1969). By identifying which student is talking, somewhat different aspects of the quantity and quality of teacher-student contact become amenable to study. Data for the entire class treated as a group may be obtained by combining all the individual students codes.

There is some evidence to suggest that correlations between student variables and interaction data derived from group-based scores vary significantly from those calculated from individual scores (MacDonald, 1972). Individual student interaction data have been reported in the literature and include comparisons based on sex (Jackson & Lahaderne, 1967), achievement level (Good, 1970; MacDonald, 1972), and attitudes of students (MacDonald, 1972). The results suggest that students may not receive equal opportunity to participate in classroom activities, that the teacher can manipulate the performance of individual students by his patterns of solicitation and reinforcement, and that consequently much of the educational progress of individual students remains in the hands of the teacher. The most important observation seems to be the variety of individual differences in classroom behavior. It would appear that viewing a classroom as a unit whose participants share a common educational experience is not always warranted (Jackson & Lahaderne, 1967).

The Preliminary L2 System

Development

During the 1972-1973 academic year, two fourth year undergraduate German majors at the University of Alberta were enrolled in a special ad-

vanced modern languages methods course designed to assist them in the development of strategies in the teaching of German as a second language. Initially the two students were trained in the Flanders system according to the program and procedures suggested for the system by its developers (Amidon & Flanders, 1971). When the student teachers had assimilated the information and were competent at coding, plotting matrices, and calculating descriptive indices, they were assigned to a class of four grade eight students to whom they taught *Verstehen und Sprechen* (Rehder et al., 1962). The four students were volunteers who had participated the previous year in a program designed to provide German majors enrolled in the undergraduate modern languages methods course with teaching experience in a controlled learning environment. The two undergraduate German majors were among those who had participated in the previous course.

Initially, the investigator coded the interaction and the student-teachers practiced until they achieved a reliability rating which consistently attained the criterion level specified by the investigator. The criterion of 0.90 using Scott's Coefficient was used to maintain inter- and intra-observer reliabilities for the remainder of the project (Flanders, 1966). One-hour classes were held twice weekly over a five month period. While one student teacher taught, the other coded the verbal interaction. Each student teacher taught one half of each lesson. Weekly discussions were held among the student teachers and the investigator to monitor the evolving teaching strategies.

As a focus of the strategies was the desire to increase student verbal participation, additional student categories were deemed necessary to permit the desired analysis. The Flanders student categories were modified as follows: student talk was divided into two major areas labelled convergent (categories designated by 8) and divergent (categories designated by 9) verbal behavior. Essentially, convergent student talk allows the student little choice of selection in his verbalization. He is expected to reply to a specific question (category 8) or to ask a question which has been specified by the teacher (category 8q). Divergent student talk allows the student considerable freedom of choice in either answering a question or in making a self-initiated comment (category 9), helping other students (category 9c), or asking an original question (category 9q). Another category peculiar to second language instruction is the use of divergent talk in English (9e) which was also incorporated into the system. The teacher categories were felt to be appropriate and thus left intact. Flanders' category 10 was modified to include any non-verbal activity. The revised system consisting of six student categories, seven teacher categories, and one for non-verbal activity was termed the Preliminary L2 (second language) System (L2P) and is presented in Figure 1.

The identification of the type and amount of participation for each individual student was deemed to be an important source of information for teacher strategy development. Consequently, it was necessary to code for both category type and student source. Since only four students were involved, the first letter of their names was used for identification. It was recognized that this type of designation, while possible in a small class of four students, would not be appropriate in a conventional class of twenty-

FIGURE 1
PRELIMINARY L2 SYSTEM

Teacher Talk	Indirect*	1. Accepts feeling. Accepts and clarifies an attitude or the feeling tone of a student in a nonthreatening manner. Feelings may be positive or negative. Predicting and recalling feelings are included.
		2. Praises or encourages. Praises or encourages student action or behavior. Jokes that release tension, but not at the expense of another individual; nodding head, or saying "um hm?" or "go on" are included.
		3. Accepts or uses ideas of students. Clarifying, building, or developing ideas suggested by a student. Teacher extensions of student ideas are included but as the teacher brings more of his ideas into play, shift to category 5.
		4. Asks questions. Asking a question about content or procedure, based on teacher ideas, with the intent that a student will answer.
	Direct*	5. Lecturing. Giving facts or opinions about content or procedure; expressing his own ideas, giving his own explanation, or citing an authority other than a student.
		6. Giving directions. Directions, commands, or orders to which a student is expected to comply.
		7. Criticizing or justifying authority. Statements intended to change student behavior from nonacceptable to acceptable pattern; bawling someone out; stating why the teacher is doing what he is doing; extreme self-reference.
Student Talk	Convergent	**8. Convergent answer. Responding to the teacher about specific material he is learning or has learned. The student has little or no choice of answer as the response is predictable from the question asked.
		**8q. Convergent question. Asking a specific question as directed by the teacher.
	Divergent	**9. Divergent answer or comment. Responding to the teacher or initiating the communication; the student expresses his own ideas, opinions, reactions or feelings. He has considerable freedom of choice in his verbalization.
		9c. Student-to-student assistance. Assisting another student with his answer. The student has not been called upon to do so by the teacher; he does so of his own free will.
		**9q. Divergent question. Asking a question which the student initiates himself or for which he has the choice of selection.
		9e. Comment in English. Making a comment in English which is not necessarily relevant to the classroom activity. The comment may be disruptive.
		**10. Non-verbal Activity. Pauses, short periods of silence, and periods in which non-verbal activities occur.

* Flanders, 1970
** Similar to Flanders, 1970, p. 141.

five or more. A seating scheme was devised which would identify individual students in a traditional classroom setting. This is a two-digit positional scheme based on the seating arrangement in the classroom. Each student is identified by his position in the configuration of desks. The first digit represents the row in which the student is seated while the second digit represents his position in the row. The advantage of this kind of identification scheme is that the observer can walk into any second language classroom and code the interaction on an individual student basis without first having to learn the names of the students.

This identification scheme may be used in conjunction with the L2P categories in the following manner. If, for example, the student in the upper left hand corner of the classroom answers an open-ended question, the statement would be recorded as 9-11, the 9 indicating the type of response, and the 11 identifying the student who made the response. A series of teacher-student remarks could therefore appear as follows:

4
8-21
2
6
8q-32
8-45
2

The above method of student coding permits three-fold data analysis: that of the total class as reported by Flanders, grouping students on selected variables, and reporting individual student differences. A conventional second language class was identified in order to explore relationships among these variables.

Field Testing

A grade eleven French 21 class of twenty-seven students for whom current French achievement data were available from the teacher was observed for the period of one week in the spring of 1973. During observation, the class was involved in the oral phases of lesson 23 in *Voix et Images de France* according to the procedure outlined for its use (Renard & Heinle, 1969). *Voix et Images de France* (VIF) is a highly structured audio-visual method of teaching French as a second language wherein the student is called upon frequently to participate verbally. The use of English and choral responses is actively discouraged by the methodology. During the observational sequence, explanation, repetition, and transposition were observed.

The class consisted of fifteen girls and twelve boys whose mean achievement scores on their most recent report card was 73 per cent with a standard deviation of 11.5. The means were identical for both sexes although the standard deviation was slightly higher for girls than for boys (12.2 vs. 11.0).

The first day of the week was used by the investigator to become acquainted with the classroom situation and the learning environment. The codes for that day were not used for analysis. The initial five minutes of each of the succeeding four days were used by the observer to establish the teacher's frame of reference for the activities to follow. Recorded observations ranged from approximately twenty to thirty minutes, depending on how long the teacher conducted oral work. Reading and writing activities were not observed.

Results

In order to present a composite picture of overall teacher strategy, the aggregate of the four observation instances is reported. Daily instructional differences based on the VIF phase used are not reflected in the composite

data. For specific elaboration of individual phases, the reader is referred to an earlier report pertaining to the present study (McEwen, 1973).

Class Interaction

The teacher observed was an experienced French teacher who had received training in interaction analysis in conjunction with an earlier study (McEwen, 1972). The teacher was familiar with the procedures of the instructional methodology and conducted his classes accordingly.

Table 1 presents the per cent distribution of classroom interaction among the given categories. Teacher talk accounted for 41.3 per cent of the interaction, student talk for 50.2 per cent, and non-verbal activities for 8.5 per cent. Of talking behaviour, student talk was proportionately higher than teacher talk (0.55 vs. 0.45). The teacher produced no category 1 behavior at all, signifying that in the classes observed he was not overtly concerned with verbalizations about student feelings. The two major evaluative categories, praise and criticism, accounted for 5.9 per cent and 2.6 per cent of the interaction, respectively. The remainder of teacher talk was distributed fairly evenly among the other four categories: use of student ideas (8.3 per cent), questions (8.2 per cent), information (8.3 per cent), and directions (8.0 per cent). It would appear that the teacher was primarily concerned with the content aspect of classroom verbal interaction.

Considerable variation in the distribution of student talk among the various categories was observed. Convergent response includes eighteen instances of choral response representing 3.5 per cent of all category 8 verbalization and 1.8 per cent of total student talk. This very low incidence of

TABLE 1
PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF INTERACTION AMONG PRELIMINARY L2 CATEGORIES

		Description	Category	Per Cent	Total
Teacher Talk	Indirect	Feelings	1	0.0	
		Praise	2	5.9	
		Use of Ideas	3	8.3	
		Questions	4	8.2	
	Direct	Information	5	8.3	
		Directions	6	8.0	
		Criticism	7	2.6	
					41.3
Student Talk	Convergent	Answer	8	25.5	
		Question	8q	1.0	
	Divergent	Answer	9	14.2	
		Assistance	9c	3.5	
		Question	9q	4.1	
		English Comment	9e	1.9	
					50.2
Non-Verbal			10	8.5	8.5

choral response suggests that considerable dyadic interaction can occur in classrooms under the VIF method of instruction. Student questions, both convergent and divergent, usually reflect teacher-directed verbalization. The teacher observed solicited more divergent questions than convergent questions (4.1 per cent vs. 1.0 per cent) from the students. Teachers generally have limited control over the use of English and of student-to-student assistance. It is encouraging that little English was used (1.9 per cent) but that students did assist one another (3.5 per cent).

Similar overall amounts of convergent and divergent verbal behavior were exhibited by the students (0.53 vs. 0.47). Convergent response to specific teacher solicitations accounted for approximately 95 per cent of convergent talk while divergent response accounted for almost 60 per cent of divergent talk. The observation of all types of student talk categorized in the L2P system suggests that the verbal behaviors originally identified in the small class of four students are also produced in a conventional class and that the system is capable of discrimating among the behaviors represented by its student categories.

Group Differences

As well as overall class interaction, student verbal behavior classified according to sex and achievement level was analyzed. The eighteen instances of choral response were eliminated. The distribution of verbal behavior among all the student categories was computed separately for each student group in question. The resulting proportions in each category were in turn compared by sex and achievement level in order to reveal differences in the teacher's solicitation strategy for each group. The proportion of verbalization in each category taken separately as partitioned between males and females and between high and low achievers was also computed and compared in order to reflect differences among groups. For example, males and females may have similar proportions of convergent talk as compared to other talk categories when these proportions are compared on male total and female total talk, respectively. When males and females are compared on relative frequency of total verbalization within a given category, these proportions may be quite different, reflecting the differences in total frequency of talk for each group. Similar comparisons were made with respect to teacher feedback strategy.

One aspect of teacher solicitation strategy may be ascertained by determining the frequency with which boys and girls were asked to participate verbally. Student responses (categories 8 and 9) to the teacher's content questions (category 4) were examined. It was found that similar proportions of such directly-solicited response were produced by males and females when compared with all other instances of student talk for each group separately (0.12 vs. 0.13). When the two groups were compared on response to a content question, boys received somewhat more response opportunities than did girls (0.53 vs. 0.47).

No significant differences were found across student categories for males and females separately. These data suggest that the teacher elicited student participation along similar lines for boys and girls. The relative comparison of student talk within each category revealed that boys talked significantly more frequently than did girls in terms of convergent, divergent, and total

talk (0.55 vs. 0.45). As both groups had similar verbalization patterns even though boys talked significantly more than girls, differences attributed to sex were not explored further.

The fourteen students with term grades of 75 or above were designated as high achievers and the thirteen students whose term grades were 70 or below were designated as low achievers. When the frequency of student response (categories 8 and 9) to the teacher's content questions was examined for high and low achievers separately, equivalent proportions were found (0.12 vs. 0.12). Comparing the responses of the two achievement groups on this variable indicated that high achievers were called upon significantly more frequently than were low achievers (0.62 vs. 0.38). Upon analysis of the distribution of student talk across categories for each achievement group separately, significant differences in teacher strategy for the two groups emerged. Low achievers produced significantly more convergent response (0.62 vs. 0.42) and more convergent talk (0.64 vs. 0.44) than high achievers while the latter produced significantly more divergent talk (0.56 vs. 0.36) than the former.

High achievers produced significantly more talk in all four divergent categories than did low achievers. High achievers talked fully one and one-half times as much as did low achievers. These results suggest that the teacher not only called upon the high achievers significantly more frequently but also that he directed more response opportunities for open-ended verbalization to them than to low achievers.

As the teacher's solicitation strategy was found to favor the high achievers his feedback pattern to achievement groups was examined in more detail in order to determine whether or not a similar pattern would emerge. Teacher feedback to convergent and divergent response was chosen for analysis as these categories represent the most frequently-occurring types of student verbalization. They also represent behaviors most directly under the control of the teacher.

A comparison of teacher feedback across categories to a convergent response for each achievement group taken separately was made. No significant differences were found suggesting that the teacher provided a similar feedback pattern to both achievement groups. High achievers received significantly more praise than did low achievers (0.62 vs. 0.38) while low achievers received significantly more directions than did high achievers (0.71 vs. 0.29). Total feedback received was distributed evenly between the two groups.

The across category comparison of teacher feedback to a divergent response for high and low achievers revealed no significant differences. However, when the within category feedback to a divergent response for each group was analyzed, significant differences favoring the high achievers were found for use of praise (0.82 vs. 0.18), use of student ideas (0.74 vs. 0.26), and total feedback received (0.72 vs. 0.28), suggesting that the teacher generally reinforced the high achievers' verbalization more frequently than that of low achievers.

A composite picture of teacher feedback to both convergent and divergent student response compared across categories for each achievement group again found no significant differences. The teacher's overall

reinforcement strategy appears to have been parallel for high and low achievers. However, as anticipated from the earlier results reported, the data analyzed with respect to a relative comparison for the two groups to total response (categories 8 and 9) confirmed that high achievers received significantly more praise (0.66 vs. 0.34), use of their ideas (0.72 vs. 0.28), and total feedback (0.60 vs. 0.40) than did low achievers.

The results comparing high and low achievement groups which concur with those reported in the literature (Gallagher, 1967; Good, 1970) suggest that the teacher's solicitation and reinforcement strategies appear to have resulted in the disproportionately high frequency of student verbalization for high achievers relative to low achievers. Not only did high achievers receive approximately one and one-half times as many response opportunities as low achievers, but they also received correspondingly as much feedback. Perhaps high achievers are called upon to participate more frequently and in a more challenging manner than low achievers because they can usually be depended upon to answer questions correctly. The low achievers suffered not only in terms of their opportunity to participate but also in terms of the kind and amount of feedback which they received from the teacher. As the observations were carried out in the latter part of the semester, the teacher was aware of the ability level and course achievement of each student. Low achievers were not called upon frequently or challenged to answer large numbers of open-ended questions, but rather were limited to responding primarily to specific solicitations. They were provided with significantly less opportunity to practice oral skills in class than were high achievers. Speculation arises as to the development of a vicious circle for these low achieving students, i.e., the less opportunity such students are given to practice oral skills, the less they will be likely to perform well on achievement measures. Continuing this pattern over an extended period of time may create a decrement in achievement for low achievers. Conversely, the greater the opportunity of high achievers to practice oral skills, the greater their probable success. Thus the teacher's expectations of students' performance may serve as a self-fulfilling prophecy (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968).

Individual Differences

Table 2 presents the frequency matrix for individual students over the four observation occasions. Examination of the table reveals the great variation among students in the nature and extent of talk mentioned earlier. For example, student 13, a high achiever, was a very vocal student who produced almost twice as much divergent response as convergent response. He also helped other students, asked questions, and used English. Student 41, a low achiever, produced five times as much convergent behavior as divergent behavior, repeating each sentence several times as she had difficulty with pronunciation during repetition.

Using the data on individual frequencies, it is possible to construct a profile for each student which would indicate the type and amount of verbal participation for him. This profile could provide the teacher with feedback about how a student is succeeding relative to others in the class and provide possible explanations for his progress. Such profiles could be very

TABLE 2
AGGREGATE FREQUENCY MATRIX FOR INDIVIDUAL STUDENTS

Student	Category						
	8	8q	9	9c	9q	9e	Total
11	20	1	14	0	4	0	39
12	9	0	3	0	0	0	12
13	36	1	64	10	12	16	139
14	14	0	2	1	1	1	19
15	31	2	5	0	9	0	47
16	7	2	5	0	2	0	16
21	22	0	15	1	2	0	40
22	10	3	1	0	2	2	18
23	16	1	3	0	1	0	21
24	9	4	38	15	7	3	76
25	22	1	6	1	2	1	33
26	19	0	14	0	4	1	38
31	17	0	9	2	2	0	30
33	21	1	8	0	3	0	33
34	19	1	17	6	7	2	52
35	12	0	13	6	2	1	34
36	17	2	0	3	1	1	24
41	36	0	7	5	3	2	53
42	12	0	5	5	0	0	22
43	8	0	3	0	0	0	11
44	10	0	2	1	2	2	17
45	25	1	17	9	4	1	57
46	25	0	3	0	1	1	30
53	40	0	19	3	5	3	70
54	13	0	3	0	1	0	17
55	7	0	8	2	1	1	19
64	19	0	1	1	4	1	26
Total	496	20	285	71	82	39	993

useful when conducting teacher-student interviews. By identifying the nature and extent of students' actual participation, the teacher could also use the data to develop instructional strategies which might produce more equal learning opportunities for all students.

Discussion

The results of the study would suggest that the Preliminary L2 System can provide useful in-depth information about the nature and extent of teacher-student dyadic interaction in a second language classroom and warrants further investigation. The identification of individual student verbalization revealed that important instructional relationships between teacher strategy and the resulting student verbal participation may be identified. Grouping on selected variables can illuminate some of the differential effects of teacher instructional strategy and reporting individual data can provide a microscopic view of dyadic interaction.

Several implications for teaching and learning second languages may be derived from the reported results. The observational system provides the teacher with explicit information about the way in which he handles such pedagogical tactics as soliciting and reinforcing student response. The teacher also receives detailed feedback about the verbal interaction patterns of individuals and groups of students. By becoming aware of classroom verbal interaction patterns, a teacher may be able to better control verbal behavior in ways which concur with his stated instructional goals. The results of the study suggest that it is in fact the teacher who controls the learning experiences of his students to a marked extent.

Nevertheless, inadequacies in descriptive power exist in this system. It does not specify the cognitive level of verbalization. Neither is actual content examined in detail. Classroom management procedures probably account for some proportion of interaction and should be explored as well. If these variables were analyzed, greater specificity in coding teacher verbalization would probably also be necessary. Refining and improving the system to discriminate among content, cognitive, and procedural variables may provide even more detailed information about classroom verbal interaction in second language instruction than is possible at present.

In future verbal interaction studies, additional information about the students might also prove profitable. Achievement may not be the only variable related to verbal interaction. Student aptitude and attitude may also be factors. A testing instrument reflecting actual classroom instruction, i.e., an oral production test covering the material learned in the lesson, might present a different perspective on achievement differences. The use of an externally-prepared achievement measure might provide for a sampling of objectives which may differ from those of the teacher.

The contribution of the Preliminary L2 System lies in its ability to provide detailed information about teacher-student dyadic verbal interaction patterns. The refinement of the system to include some of the variables mentioned above is presently under study. A research design which controls differences with respect to student variables in a more stringent manner is also being explored.

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Sex and Culture Differences in Life Problems and Interests of Adolescents

A large sample of Indian secondary school students was administered an interest scale based on Symonds (1936). Comparing the results with a large sample of Canadian adolescent opinion on needs and interests, males were found to be similar, while female opinion differed in the two cultures. (Professor Chaudhari is a Lecturer in the Department of Education, University of Indore, India.)

The period of adolescence has fascinated people of all ages. Even Aristotle turned aside his philosophical and ethical speculations to make a study of the adolescent. Interest in the study of adolescents has not declined. It is usually said that education must concern itself with the interests and problems of the learners and not with the interests of a theoretical adult society. Symonds (1936a) was perhaps the first to draw the attention of the educational researchers to the life concerns of adolescents by initiating a study on the relative importance of various problems and interests of a sample of urban adolescents in the western United States. Some 1,641 junior and senior high school students co-operated in ranking fifteen items as problems and re-ranking them as interests. This study has been replicated by Harris (1959) and Kaczkowski (1962) in urban and rural areas of the United States. More recently, Chabassol and Thomas (1969) undertook a study of problems and interests of Canadian adolescents studying in grades 8 through 11 in junior-senior secondary schools in an urban area in British Columbia. The home backgrounds of these adolescents was lower middle class. Mean age of the students was approximately 14.5 years, with a range from 13 to 16 years for grades 8 and 11, respectively.

The present study was motivated by Symonds' hypothesis: ". . . change the social and economic structure of society and you immediately change the relative emphasis of these problems and interests . . ." Because of the

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social and economic changes taking place world over with the passage of time, one would expect a relative change in the emphasis or importance that adolescents attach to these problems and interests in different countries. Such studies, as cited above, have been replicated from time to time to ascertain whether the changes in emphasis appear as predicted.

This study is an attempt to explore the problems and interests of Indian adolescents. What phases of current living do adolescents find most interesting? What phases of current living do adolescents find most serious, most challenging, and most important? Were some of the questions answered through this study? Specifically, this study attempts to secure answers to the following questions:

1. What are the problems and interests of Indian male and female adolescents?
2. What is the extent of correspondence between the rankings of problems by Indian males and females?
3. What is the extent of agreement between the rankings of interests by Indian males and females?
4. What is the extent of agreement between the ranking of problems by Indian and Canadian males?
5. What is the extent of agreement between the ranking of problems by Indian and Canadian females?
6. What is the extent of agreement between the rankings of interests by Indian and Canadian males?
7. What is the extent of agreement between the rankings of interests by Indian and Canadian families?

Method

930 students in grades 9 through 11 in the Higher Secondary Schools of Indore city (Madhya Pradesh, India) form the sample of this study. In India the Higher Secondary Schools have classes IX through XI. For this study the students were drawn from the government Higher Secondary Schools. These schools are common schools and admissions in them are open to all sections of the society. The social background of the students was middle class. Mean age of the sample was approximately 15.6 years, with a range from 14.5 to 17 years for grades 9 and 11 respectively. Students of grade 8 were not included in the sample. The breakdown of the population is shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1
GRADEWISE DISTRIBUTION OF MALE AND FEMALE ADOLESCENTS

Grade	N (Males)	N (Females
Nine	145	130
Ten	175	160
Eleven	165	155
Total	485	445

A Hindi version of the instrument devised by Symonds (1936) was used in this study. This instrument contains 15 major areas of life concerns of adolescents. He had selected the issues from young people's own discussions and phrased the issues in terms used by young people themselves. The students of this sample were asked first to consider the items as personal problems and then to rank them in order reflecting their own experience with the issues as personal problems. The students then were asked to re-rank the same items in order of interests, considering the 15 areas as things they would like to read about and discuss or hear discussed. Students were given as much time as was needed in order to complete the instrument to their satisfaction.

Results and Discussion

The findings pertaining to problems and interests of Indian males and females are presented in Table 2. It is evident that most of the choices are similar although two items, daily schedule and civic interest, hold the same position in both columns of rank. Money is the biggest problem for both sexes and recreation is close behind. Study habits is also on both lists. Some differences in ranking by males and females are noted. As expected, personal attractiveness is considered to be the most important problem by girls. Similarly, sex adjustment, manner and courtesy, and mental hygiene are given a higher ranking by females than by males. This suggests the greater concern girls show for sex adjustment, courtesy and mental worries (fears, inhibitions, compulsions, insecurity and fantasies). This may point to the presence of greater tension in girls because of more restraints and taboos clamped upon them than upon males in Indian society. Philosophy of life (personal values, ambitions, ideals and religion) appears to be of more importance for boys than for girls. It is interesting to note that neither sex sees daily schedule and civic interest as problems. This probably reveals the lack of concern for daily schedule and civic duties in the Indian adolescents.

In order to determine the extent of agreement between the ranking of problems by males and females, a Spearman "rho" was calculated. It was found to be .83, with significance at the .01 level.

In Table 2, the ranking of interests by Indian males and females is presented. The ranks are almost similar. Interest in recreation, sex adjustment, health and personal qualities are high on both lists. Of little interest to either sex are safety, mental hygiene, daily schedule, civic interest and philosophy of life. Two interesting reversals of position are found; whereas money is placed in second place by boys, it is ranked seventh by girls. For personal attractiveness, these ranks are reversed. Spearman's "rho" for these rankings was found to be .82, with significance at .01 level.

There is considerable agreement between the rankings of problems and interests, but some interesting inconsistencies are also noted. For instance, neither sex ranks sex adjustment as a major problem, but both list it quite high in terms of interest. Personal and moral qualities is, to some extent, similarly treated. This probably suggests that students in higher secondary grades may not see sex adjustments (which includes love, petting, courtship and marriage) as being a major problem, but they might well

TABLE 2
RANKING OF PROBLEMS AND INTERESTS BY INDIAN MALES AND FEMALES

Item	Problems			Interests		
	Ranking		Spearman's rho	Ranking		Spearman's rho
	Male	Female		Male	Female	
Health	4	5		4	6.5	
Sex Adjustment	8.5	6		5	4.5	
Safety	6	7.5		13.5	12	
Money	1	2		2	6.5	
Mental Hygiene	13.5	12.5	.83*	13.5	11	
Study Habits	3	4		3	3	
Recreation	2	3		1	2	.82*
Personal and moral qualities	7	9		6	4.5	
Home and family relationships	5	7.5		9	8	
Manner and Courtesy	12	10		10	9	
Personal attractiveness	8.5	1		7	1	
Daily schedule	11	11		11.5	14	
Civic interest	15	15		15	15	
Getting along with people	10	12.5		8	10	
Philosophy of life	13.5	14		11.5	13	

* Significant at .01 level

want to read about it or hear it discussed. Both boys and girls list money, recreation, study habits and health as their problems of considerable importance. Both sexes list safety as an important problem, but both place it well toward the bottom of the list of interests. Home and family relationship is accorded somewhat similar treatment. Money is a problem of first order for both sexes but it gets a lower rank on the list of interests. For girls, money is an important problem but not so much a matter of interest. There is a close agreement between the rankings of problems and interests so far as personal attractiveness is concerned. It is a matter of first problem and first interest for the girls. The remainder of the items are placed in relatively the same position.

Problems of Indian and Canadian Males

The ranking of problems by Indian and Canadian males as shown in Table 3 demonstrates some important similarities and differences. Money and study habits are high on both lists. Neither Indian nor Canadian males regard manners and courtesy, civic interest, sex adjustment and getting along with people as their important problems. Canadian males showed some concern for philosophy of life, but their Indian counterparts did not. Three interesting reversals of positions are also found. Whereas recreation is placed in second place by Indian males, it is ranked fifteenth by Canadian males. For mental hygiene and philosophy of life, these ranks are also reversed. Health, home and family relationships, and safety are problems for Indian males but not for their Canadian counterparts. Spearman's "rho" for this was found to be .14, with no significance.

Problems of Indian and Canadian Females

For the females, the data is similar to that of males with the problems of money, personal attractiveness and health high on both lists. Of little

TABLE 3
RANKING OF PROBLEMS BY INDIAN (M_I) AND CANADIAN (M_C) MALES

Item	Ranking M_I	Ranking M_C [a]	Spearman's rho
Health	4	8.5	
Sex adjustment	8.5	7	
Safety	6	12	
Money	1	1.5	
Mental hygiene	13.5	3	
Study habits	3	1.5	
Recreation	2	15	.14*
Personal and moral qualities	7	4	
Home and family relationship	5	8.5	
Manners and courtesy	12	14	
Personal attractiveness	8.5	6	
Daily schedule	11	11	
Civic interest	15	10	
Getting along with people	10	13	
Philosophy of life	13.5	5	

* Not significant

[a] Taken from Chabassol (1969)

concern to the females of both countries are the problems of civic interest, daily schedule, manner and courtesy, getting along with people and philosophy of life. Two important contrasts of position were noted. While mental hygiene is placed in second place by Canadian girls, it is ranked twelfth by Indian girls. Similarly, recreation is placed third by Indian girls and fifteenth by Canadian girls. This probably indicates that recreation is a problem of great concern to Indian females but mental hygiene is not, maybe because of the lack of awareness of this area of life concern. Spearman's "rho" for Table 4 is .37, with no significance at .01 level.

TABLE 4
RANKING OF PROBLEMS BY INDIAN (F_I) AND CANADIAN (F_C) FEMALES

Item	Ranking F_I	Ranking F_C [a]	Spearman's rho
Health	5	7	
Sex adjustment	6	8	
Safety	7.5	14	
Money	2	1	
Mental hygiene	12.5	2	
Study habits	4	4	
Recreation	3	15	.37*
Personal and moral qualities	9	6	
Manner and courtesy	10	12	
Personal attractiveness	1	3	
Daily schedule	11	13	
Civic interest	15	11	
Getting along with people	12.5	10	
Philosophy of life	14	9	

* Not significant at .05 level.

[a] Taken from Chabassol et al (1969)

Interests of Indian and Canadian Males

With respect to interests, Indian and Canadian male adolescents are equally interested in health and recreation. Recreation, money, study habits, health and sex adjustment are high on both lists. Of little interest to males of both countries are civic interest, daily schedule, safety, manner and courtesy, and philosophy of life.

Spearman's "rho" for male interest data was found to be .72, with significance at the .01 level. This suggests that the interests of male adolescents in India and Canada are very much similar.

TABLE 5
RANKING OF INTERESTS BY INDIAN (M_I) AND CANADIAN (M_C) MALES

Items	Ranking		Spearman's rho
	M_I	M_C[a]	
Health	4	4	
Sex adjustment	5	2	
Safety	13.5	11	
Money	2	3	
Mental hygiene	13.5	9	
Study habits	3	2	
Recreation	1	1	.72*
Personal and moral qualities	6	7	
Home and family relationship	9	8	
Manner and courtesy	10	13	
Personal attractiveness	7	6	
Daily schedule	11.5	15	
Civic interest	15	14	
Getting along with people	8	5	
Philosophy of life	11.5	10	

* Significant at .01 level

[a] Taken from Chabassol et al (1969)

Interests of Indian and Canadian Females

A study of the interest data shows that the adolescent females of both countries are equally interested in the area of personal attractiveness. Reversal of interest has been found so far as the area of study habits is concerned. The Indian female adolescents are much more interested in the study habits than are their Canadian counterparts. The majority of the remaining ranks are very similar. Personal attractiveness, sex adjustment, recreation and health are high on both lists. Daily schedule, civic interest, safety and philosophy of life are of little interest to females of both countries. The Canadian females are more interested in getting along with people than are their Indian counterparts.

Conclusion

From the foregoing discussion it can be concluded that money and study habits are the problems of common concern to Indian and Canadian males, whereas personal attractiveness, money and study habits are of concern to Indian and Canadian females. Unlike Indian males, Canadian

TABLE 6
RANKING OF INTERESTS BY INDIAN (F_I) AND CANADIAN (F_C) FEMALES

Items	Ranking		Spearman's rho
	F_I	F_C[a]	
Health	6.5	3.5	
Sex adjustment	4.5	2	
Safety	12	12.5	
Money	6.5	5	
Mental hygiene	11	8.5	
Study habits	3	12.5	.67*
Recreation	2	6	
Personal and moral qualities	4.5	8.5	
Home and family relationship	8	7	
Manner and courtesy	9	11	
Personal attractiveness	1	1	
Daily schedule	14	15	
Civic interest	15	14	
Getting along with people	10	3.5	
Philosophy of life	13	10	

* Significant at .01 level

[a] Taken from Chabassol et al (1969)

males have listed mental hygiene, personal and moral qualities, and philosophy of life as their problems of great concern, whereas recreation is no problem for them. Money remains the first problem for males of both countries. Money is also the first problem for Canadian females but it is a number two problem for their Indian counterparts. Study habits ranks as the problem of equal importance for Indian and Canadian females. Personal attractiveness is the first concern of Indian females whereas it has been ranked third by Canadian females. Recreation is a problem for Indian females, unlike their Canadian counterparts. Similarly, mental hygiene is a problem for Canadian girls, unlike their Indian counterparts.

There were dissimilarities in the ranking of interests by Indian and Canadian female adolescents, but the interests of male adolescents of both countries were found to be quite similar. Recreation, money, study habits, health and sex adjustment are the common areas of considerable interest to them. Except for the two contrasts in the ranks for study habits and getting along with people, the rest of the interest were, by and large, similar in the female adolescents of India and Canada. Personal attractiveness was the most important area of identical interest. Indian females have shown more interest in recreation and study habits than have their Canadian counterparts, whereas Canadian female adolescents were found to be more interested in sex adjustment, getting along with people, health and money than were their Indian counterparts. Recreation was the matter of highest interest for males and personal attractiveness for females in both countries. Males of both countries have shown more interest in money than have females. Sex is no problem for them, but males and females of both countries have more or less indicated sex adjustment as the topic about which they would like to read.

Lack of concern with sex is the most difficult to understand. According to Symonds (1936b) the immediate interpretation is that boys and girls are

untruthful here and hesitate to display concern or interest in sex because of fear that they may be criticized. There is a general belief that adolescents tend to conceal the truth with regard to this area. They make subconscious efforts to keep us from knowing about this problem. Sex enters their lives spontaneously and naturally, probably in large part without the accompaniment of verbal formulations, and hence is really no problem. The sex problems of young people are the problems of their parents and elders, not of young people themselves.

This study supports the conclusion by Chabassol and Thomas (1969) and by Coleman (1961) that for males, money, and for females, personal attractiveness have always been found to be topics of interest and importance. Coleman (1970) in his studies on adolescents, found that superficial, external attributes of clothes and good looks pervade the atmosphere of adolescent cultures to the extent that girls come to feel that this is the only basis or the most important basis on which to excel. It is here that the flowering sex drive receives its open acknowledgement. Yet, he further commented, in none of the roles in adult life that most girls will occupy are physical beauty, an enticing manner, and nice clothes as important for performing successfully as they are in high school (adolescence).

The student of adolescent behaviour will not be surprised at the significance of money as a problem, high interest in personal attractiveness and considerable concern over study habits. Even at adolescence, the economic problem is both the boy's and girl's greatest concern. The problem of economic independence and economic security begins to loom as a major problem to boys. At this age, boys begin to realize that they are expected to be providers. Is this a mandate to the school tp place primary emphasis on the vocational side of life, on preparing youth for earning a livelihood? In these days especially, when young people see unemployment on every side and when the tragedy of the past generation may be the tragedy of an older brother in their own home, gaining vocational competence early becomes a major concern. The discussion of the wise handling and spending of money might well be included in the secondary school curriculum.

Boys and girls at this age are strongly possessed with the urge to succeed and hence they attach great importance to effectiveness in study. Success in school is the key to advantages that come later. It is the "open sesame" to college, to vocational success, and even to economic and cultural position as seen by the adolescent. Here then is a mandate to make the secondary curriculum a living reality and not "dried leaves of the past."

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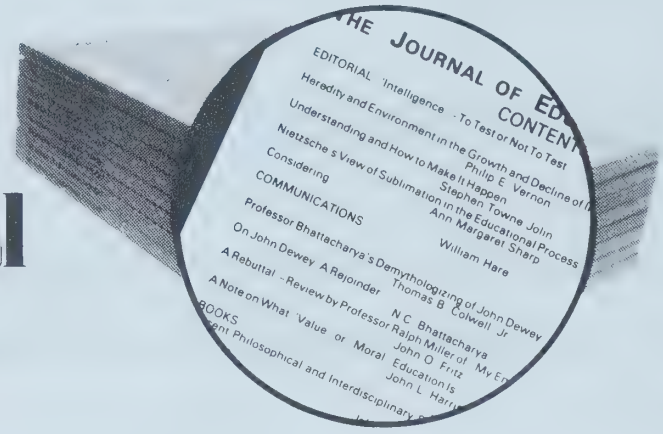
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